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THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE CHURCH AND STATE IN SOCIAL WORK: FOUR CASE STUDIES IN A CONTEXT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

So many people have been instrumental in helping me to achieve the 'finished product', and I would like to make some recognition of this.

The S.S.R.C. in a very fundamental way made the research possible by giving me a Studentship for three years, for which I am most grateful. The research would not have been completed, however, without the considerable help of Dr.Paul Corrigan of the University of Warwick, who perhaps somewhat unwisely agreed to supervise me! His ability to cajole me along the inevitably tortuous path of research was indispensable. But the research could not, of course, have been undertaken without the co-operation of those groups of workers who I chose to study. Their identities have been concealed, so I am unable to thank them by name, but this does not detract from the warmth of my thanks to them.

Many other people - fellow students and friends - enabled me to work out my ideas more fully, but my husband, Sean, deserves special mention. Not only did he put up with domestic chaos while I undertook the research, but managed to encourage me to continue the task whilst caring for Dominic whose birth somewhat complicated the delivery of this thesis! Finally, my considerable thanks must go to Lydia Thorpe who so painstakingly typed the whole thesis so efficiently.

To all those who in any way were connected with this thesis - thank you.

ABSTRACT

The Relationship of the Church and State in Social Work: Four Case Studies in a Context.

The research focusses on the study of four separate groups of workers involved in the provision of some form of social work service. Each group is based in a well-known setting, which has a distinctive historical and organisational background. Two are specifically religious, namely Roman Catholic Sisters working with families in their own homes, and those staffing a Salvation Army Hostel for the Single Homeless; and two are of a secular and statutorynature, namely non-qualified staff within a Social Services Department, and those running a Government Reception Centre for the Single Homeless.

The thesis is divided into four distinct sections. Section A, consisting of two chapters, aims to introduce the reader to the research, to the structure of the thesis, and more specifically to the overall methodology which was adopted. This necessarily includes a discussion of the actual methods utilised, including the process of writing up, and the approach employed towards existing literature.It is a moving methodology whose approach demands a more fluid, multi-disciplinary approach to other literature, and a presentation or form which relates to both method and content.

Having set the scene in Section A, Section B turns to the empirical material and provides the first of the two main empirical sections. Again consisting of two chapters, the first is concerned with the historical development of the four institutions involved. These descriptive sub-sections are then followed by an historical analysis of the relationship of church and state, and finally the four groups are set in relationship to the Welfare State, Chapter Four focusses on the other structural way of making sense of institutions, that of ideology. Having introduced the concept of ideology, particularly in relation to practice, the contemporary role of the church in the 'welfare state' is considered. The chapter also examines five ideological issues which were seen to influence carers.

Section C presents the empirical data as related to three central themes: Chapter Five-Perceptions of Work, Chapter Six-Social Service Work and Client Groups, and Chapter Seven-Community and Bureaucracy as Organisational Forms. Chapter Five is concerned with perceptions of work and focusses attention on those studied as "workers". The importance of work as a category of analysis only emerged during the research, but the chapter becomes central to the whole thesis, dealing with a considerable range of empirical material. Chapter Six concentrates on the clients' experiences of the four institutions from which they sought help. This information was not gained by direct interview but from observation and inference from what workers said. The final Chapter turns to the organisational form within which the service is provided, for this too had emerged as a fundamental issue. Community, as measured in terms of the members' sense of solidarity and significance, is contrasted with bureaucracy. Two concrete examples of the effects of organisation are examined, as are the implications of community for those who 'care'.

Section D necessarily aims to draw together those findings already reported (both implicitly and explicitly) and to comment upon them. The first part of Chapter Eight concentrates on exploring various 'Ways of Concluding' findings derived from such a methodology. The idea of community as an important organisational form for the carers emerges from a wide range of conclusions as the most significant. The second part is devoted to the implications for future research and practice, not least in terms of the methodology and the actual process of writing up such research. The thesis concludes with pointers for areas of future research.

"..., in our view, empirical research in the relation of institutions to legitimating symbolic universes will greatly enhance the sociological understanding of contemporary society."

Berger and Luckmann - The Social Construction of Reality p. 210

"As for the nature of our society, as long as there are broken homes and chronic alcoholics, compulsive gamblers and panders who prey upon human weaknesses, children who are socially deprived and adults who are socially inadequate, rebellious adolescents and lonely pensioners, the young who at heart fear life and the old who are afraid of death, so long will there be needed men and women who are willing to pay the price of caring. In face of these incontrovertible facts let no one anticipate, much less welcome, the demise of any compassionate community."

General Coutts - No Continuing City p. 151

SECTION A

Introduction to Section A

This Section aims to introduce the reader to the research, the structure of the thesis, and more specifically to the overall methodology which was adopted. This necessarily includes a discussion of the actual methods utilised, including the process of writing-up, and the approach employed towards existing literature.

Section A consists of two chapters - Chapter One 'Making Sense of the World and Writing About It' and Chapter Two 'Making Sense of the Literature'. Having introduced the topic of the research in Chapter One, and explained the early development of the research idea, discussion turns to the methodology I adopted. This necessarily incorporates an outline of the methodology of Glaser & Strauss upon which I was to rely quite heavily. I have provided the reader next with a brief but self-conscious autobiography which helps to explain the direction taken by the empirical work, which is then outlined. Selection and entry into the various groups is detailed, together with a discussion of the actual methods used, in particular that of participant observation, and interviewing. A description is also provided of the way in which the empirical data was recorded and analysed, together with a more general discussion of how people make sense of data, as well as the form in which data is presented in the thesis. The actual process of writing-up is documented in some detail, as being integral to the whole research, followed by a review of the structure of the thesis presented in the form of section briefs. The chapter ends with a reflection as to how my own methodology is an attempt to move Glaser & Strauss's methodology on a little further. A chronology of 'What, When & Why' appears as an appendix to Chapter One, offering a clearer perspective of the overall sequence of the research, for the benefit of the reader.

Chapter Two concentrates on another dimension of the methodology, that of my relation to other literature, and illustrates the importance of establishing a relevant form for a thesis. It does not seek to provide the conventional

'Review of the Literature', which is a feature of many theses, but explores how I myself related to existing literature and where relevant incorporated it into the research as another 'slice' of empirical material. In particular this Chapter demonstrates the multiplicity and diversity of strands of literature which were involved - highlighting the difficulties that this presented by means of two examples of different substantive areas. The Chapter continues with a discussion of the differences and similarities between these various major strands in the literature, and explores the implications which this has for the rest of the thesis.

CHAPTER ONE: MAKING SENSE OF THE WORLD AND WRITING ABOUT IT

> "Have you ever noticed this - that people never answer what you say? They answer what you mean - or what they think you mean."
>
> - The Innocence of Fr.Brown in The Invisible Man.

Chapter One serves three separate purposes. Obviously it is intended to introduce the reader to the subject matter of the thesis, i.e., the content. As an extension of that, it sets out to describe and explain the methodology that was adopted. Thirdly, and of similar importance, it provides an introduction to the overall structure of the thesis.

This last point is necessitated by the fact that though this looks like any other thesis there are some important differences. It is not a piece of positivist research. I was deliberately engaging in a process, and this has implications not only for how the research was carried out but for how it is presented. Whilst I refer to the work of Glaser & Strauss on The Discovery of Grounded Theory, and suggest that I am adopting a similar methodological stance, it is not solely a reference. This is actually what the thesis is about - engaging in a process whereby theory is generated from the data. Finally, as I have just indicated, this will affect the way in which the thesis is written. I am writing about it as a process and this makes for important differences in the actual structure of the thesis. For instance, it explains why the next Chapter is not a 'review of the literature'.

It is perhaps important too to stress that this is not a thesis about methodology per se. I was obviously interested in it and was inevitably drawn towards developing methodology as a tool - but its importance remains as a tool only.

Each piece of research is intensely individualistic and needs to be examined in the light of the researcher's own past experience, knowledge, interests and personality. Given this aspect of the nature of a thesis I propose initially to provide some background information, so that others can more clearly understand my particular vantage point and so evaluate the content of the research.

Very early in the process of discussing the research area certain factors were quite explicit. I was interested in the sphere of social work - an area in which I had worked and was professionally qualified - and in the church - from the point of view of someone very interested in church affairs and a practising Christian. The focus was, from the start, directed therefore at the relationship between the church and social work. But what particular aspect of this relationship was to be central? Which church? Which branch of social work? These were all questions that required answers.

I also wished from the outset to do empirical research not purely theoretical - a decision clearly influenced by my position as a social work practitioner.

But what of those early questions? Even at this early stage the methodology had already been selected, almost unconsciously, for the very approach to the early questions was the methodology actually operating. It served to demonstrate that the methodology worked. I began reading background historical material related to the origins of social work, 19th Century Social Work, charity and philanthropy, and a variety of biographical accounts of Christian founders of social work endeavours (including Barnado's and the Church of England Children's Society). I used each book as a 'jumping off' point for what I should read next, as well as selecting likely material as I saw it on library shelves, or saw it reviewed within professional magazines. This seemingly haphazard approach was in fact very practical in helping me to build up a picture of the field in which I was interested, and was entirely consistent with Glaser & Strauss's methodology.

It became clearer that I needed to restrict my focus to certain sectors of the 'church', but yet retain the wide range of theology and approaches reflected in the variety of denominations. The Catholic-Evangelical split was what sprang to mind initially and I therefore spent several months exploring possible examples of this.

The Roman Catholic Church obviously epitomised the 'Catholic' end of the spectrum, and due to historical circumstances remained unaffected by any residual Establishment features that were still retained by the Church of England.

For the 'evangelical' representative, the Salvation Army was a well-known contributor of social work service, while retaining certain very distinctive features. I wrote background papers starting from a discussion of the historical position (relying heavily in the case of the Salvation Army on Booth's own blue print 'In Darkest England and the Way Out', and for the Roman Catholic on the development of the local Rescue Society) and concluding with a brief look at the contemporary position.

These exploratory papers led to a third concerned with the idea of community and what it means to both Church and State. I wondered if the two streams of development, namely church and social work, which while inextricably entwined in the 19th Century had separated at the beginning of the 20th, were in fact rejoining in the area of community development. This is an area particularly well developed in Methodist circles. While this did potentially seem to be the case, my eventual empirical work led me away from this area. This remains however a profitable area for future research.

I needed then to define more clearly the area of my empirical work. This was obviously very much interwoven with my methodological approach - content determined form and form affected content. As I indicated earlier, I decided not to attempt a piece of positivist research but to adhere more closely to the methodology of Glaser & Strauss in their 'Discovery of Grounded Theory' (1967). The early background work was that methodology in operation - but what exactly were they propounding?

Glaser & Strauss set out to disabuse their readers of the idea, still prevalent in many circles, that the only possible kind of valid research is one which emphasizes the verification of theory or has description as its end. They argue very forcibly that theory should be generated from data, and thus become what they term 'grounded theory'. This can be both substantive and formal theory. They define the latter terms in this way -

> Substantive - as "that developed for a substantive, or empirical, area of sociological inquiry"
>
> and Formal - as "that developed for a formal, or conceptual, area of sociological inquiry". (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 32)

These are likely to be 'middle-range' theories because they fall between the "minor working hypotheses" of every-day life and the "all-inclusive" grand theories.

In generating theory from the empirical data, they argue that such theory is much more likely to 'fit' the substantive area to which it is applied. Grounded theory works and is designed to be applied. They refer to John Dewey who has clarified it as applicable <u>in</u> situations as well as <u>to</u> them. But how do they see this generation occurring?

Two main techniques which they adopt that seem of crucial importance are those of 'theoretical sampling' and the 'constant comparative method of qualitative analysis' involving joint coding and analysis. Perhaps Glaser & Strauss' own explanation of these terms can usefully be referred to :-

> "Our strategy of comparative analysis for generating theory puts a high emphasis on <u>theory as process</u>; that is, theory as an ever-developing entity, not as a perfected product ... Theory as process, we believe renders quite well the reality of social interaction and its structural context".
> (Own underlining) (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 32)

> "Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal. The initial decisions for theoretical collection of data are based only on a general sociological perspective and on a general subject or problem area. The initial decisions are not based on a preconceived theoretical framework."
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 45)

There is an idea of 'ongoing inclusion' i.e., more groups, or sub-groups are included for comparative purposes as the research develops and it is not possible to cite the number or type of groups to be used until the research is completed. It is only as theoretical gaps are identified that this leads to the selection of the next group. I will return to this point in more detail.

Certain other qualities of their methodology bear emphasis at this juncture, although I will continue to refer back to Glaser & Strauss' book, as relevant factors emerge in the discussion of my own research methodology and methods.

Firstly, they put forward a very different relationship between a person's current research and existing theory. As I have said earlier, they rely on the generation of theory from the data, and feel that borrowed categories can lead to difficulties.

> "Substantive theory faithful to the empirical situation cannot, we believe, be formulated merely by applying a few ideas from an established formal theory to the substantive area. To be sure one goes out and studies an area with a particular sociological perspective, and with a focus, a general question or a problem in mind. But he can (and we believe should) also study an area without any preconceived theory that dictates, prior to the research, 'relevancies' in concepts and hypotheses. Indeed it is presumptuous to assume that one begins to know the relevant categories and hypotheses until the 'first days in the field', at least, are over. A substantive theory generated from the data must first be formulated, in order to see which of diverse formal theories are, perhaps, applicable for furthering additional substantive formulations."
>
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 33/4).

Indeed, they even suggest that at times no existing formal theory will be of use.

Secondly, they stress the importance and necessity of a multi-faceted investigation, using a variety of methods, that lead to a variety of 'slices of data'. In response to the question "Which is the best slice of data?" they say :-

> "The answer is, of course, the collection technique that best can obtain the information desired, provided that conditions permit its use in some manner."
>
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 66)

And in a footnote to this they point out that the answer is "technical not doctrinaire," although this is not a position that one would think to be true listening to some researchers!

> "He should realize that no matter what slices of data he is able to obtain, comparing their differences generates properties, and almost any slice can yield the same necessary social-structural information."
>
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 67)

They hasten to add that this does not lead (i.e., the use of different slices of data) to "unbounding relativism", for the process of comparative analysis tends to correct the individual biases of particular people. The diversity of 'modes of knowing' can only be an enrichment to the research.

Finally, they have some interesting and cogent points to make on the rich source of library material. However, I propose to deal with this in Chapter 2.

Central to my philosophy was the idea of a moving methodology, but this has had implications and repercussions throughout the thesis, not least in the very manner in which the thesis is written. Indeed by this stage I had already embarked on a different format.

Having rejected the formula of reading the literature beforehand, selecting theory, testing an hypothesis empirically and drawing conclusions, I was thus pursuing a very different course.

This rejected formula has considerable limitations for research which is meant to be applied, Paul Corrigan puts it like this :

> "The three usual splits in this process have been the hypothesis, theory and methodology, and results and conclusions. Each area is in its own compartment, concerned with its own part of the process. The layman has turned from the mystified versions of theory and the odd simplifications of sociological method and has been interested only in the results provided. He has then seen these results as generated by a 'scientific' process devoid of values, and consummately uninteresting. Consequently, the <u>method</u> by which sociological results are produced has remained of interest only to sociologists: it is <u>their</u> science, with <u>their</u> language."
> (original emphasis) Corrigan, 1979, 6)

I had selected my area of interest and I was expecting the data I collected to generate its own theory. This would in turn indicate the areas of literature that could fruitfully be explored before returning to the data to draw out my findings. It was not possible, nor did it make any sense, to attempt to write the thesis in a manner more conforming to the first model.

So many of the decisions reflected in my final choice of empirical work were made in the light of my own past experience and knowledge that, at this juncture, I offer a short, self-conscious autobiography highlighting the more significant aspects in relation to the research.

Self-Conscious Autobiography

Born in 1948, I was educated in a variety of state primary schools in England and Wales, till at the age of ten I moved to a Church of England Direct Grant Grammar School. This was run by an Anglican Religious Community with whom I was to have growing connections. I worked in one of their Children's Homes during some of my vacations, stayed at another Branch House tohelp out there and at the main Convent off and on. In short, I was quite familiar with conventual life - its norms and language.

On leaving school I followed a year's secretarial course, subsequently working in a Medical School and then in a Probation Office. It was here that my interest in social work developed more fully. I decided to take a combined degree and C.Q.S.W.

For three months after completion of the course I worked full time in a Cyrenian Night Shelter, prior to my intention to join the particular community mentioned above. It was during this period of working with the single homeless that I re-thought my position vis a vis the Religious Life. I subsequently married a Roman Catholic (himself a former priest) and was myself received into the Catholic Church. I also worked for 15 months as a Probation Officer before initiating this research.

Problems of Access to the Empirical World.

It was against this background that decisions about the form that my empirical work would take were made. I was interested initially in the subjective experience of social workers - how they made sense of their reality, and the kind of service they provided for their respective clients. Although the imperative lay in this subjective and qualitative area, the methodology moved from the subjective to the objective, when I became interested in the various constraints imposed on workers and the variety of organisational forms. The subjective retained its primacy throughout, but it would be wrong to see the methodology as a simple distinction between the subjective and objective, or a blurred combination of both. There was a continual movement between subjective and objective, between action and constraints. I lent both on subjective accounts and other literature.

Why this continuing movement between subjective and objective? I was not interested in a purely remote, objective analysis of social workers for (as can be seen in the auto-biography) I too had experienced the realities of social work, and therefore related to it more subjectively. How people made sense of their experience of helping others whilst based in either religious or secular agencies was what was central to my thesis. But this experience also included the objective constraints of the work and the very structure of the organisation within which they operated. Both aspects were important.

To tap such material seemed to require fairly prolonged and intimate contact with each selected group. To get close enough to the workers, to gain their confidence sufficiently, I felt that I had to be familiar enough with the particular settings involved to both speed up the 'entry' process and lessen the time it took to 'acclimatize' to the basic organisation. This brings me to the actual selection of the groups.

Certain strands within my own biography clearly stand out - my familiarity with conventual life (albeit as an outsider); my knowledge of the Roman Catholic Church and its doctrines; experience in statutory social work as a Probation

Officer; and finally an interest and brief experience of working with the single homeless. My husband was also working as a social worker within theSocial Services Department at this time.

From this basis I was able to utilise certain contacts to facilitate the selection and entry into the groups I wished to study. It should be made clear however that their selection was not made at <u>one</u> time. In line with the methods adopted by Glaser & Strauss (1967), each group only became identified as the project progressed. The completed research produced, however, four main groups - two religious and two secular - reflecting also a Catholic/Evangelical split in regard to the religious organisations.

It is perhaps necessary here to underline just what is contained in this section - Problems of Access to the Empirical World - and how that material is presented. To be true to what I have already indicated as being my chosen methodology, any descriptions of the empirical work must be presented chronologically, rather than merely organised around methodological categories. Thus, the reader will discover that the description of my entry into the first group, and the selection and entry into the second group is not immediately followed by that related to the third and fourth groups. I have discussed the methods and forms of involvement with the first two groups <u>before</u> discussing the selection of the third and fourth groups because this is how it occurred.

(a) <u>An Example of Entering a Community</u>

Initially I made contact with a female Roman Catholic Religious Community involved in both social work and nursing. This was a community that I had myself selected tentatively, once I was committed to looking for a Roman Catholic group. Fortunately, when I requested the advice and assistance of a Senior Priest of the Diocese, with whom I wasfriendly, he immediately suggested the same group. He willingly approached the Superior and facilitated my initial contact with the Community. This undoubtedly eased my acceptanceby the Sisters and established my 'bona fides'.

For any researcher attempting the form of participant observation that I anticipated employing, entry into the organisation or group presents a considerable problem. My solution was therefore to rely heavily on my own personal contacts and "inside" knowledge to facilitate this (as has been exampled).

Not only is entry a problem, but also access in the wider sense of the word. Given the way in which I dealt with the problem of entry, I was able to be absorbed immediately into the group with the minimum of disturbance. One of the simplest ways to explain this point is to quote from my field notes.

First Day of Block Week with the Sisters

O.N. Returned to Convent for Lunch. (.....)

O.N. Lunch - tables very practically arranged - a lot of them on tablets. Given serviette ring marked "2nd Visiting Sister". Food good and plentiful. Conversation flowed over lunch - some real touches of humour obvious and an anecdotal style which set each one off in turn. Welcomed by several Sisters who I had not met that day and met Sr.C.(new to me). The latter had prepared some books to show me - another evidence of their preparedness for my visit.

Two days later this interaction occurred at lunch.

Third Day of Block Week with the Sisters.

O.N. Returned to Convent for lunch - just in time. Lunch was the usual chatty affair - again lengthy anecdotes from Sr.F., general interchange of news, how various patients were and the latest troubles of one well known patient. (.....) I had got up to take Sr.C's plate for her and this roused some protest. I said that perhaps I would get promoted to doing the washing up the next day - I was told that I could help Sr.D. (who does the glasses, cutlery &c). The atmosphere seems to be getting even more relaxed and I am being accepted as part of the "scenery."

By the next day -

Fourth Day of Block Week with the Sisters.

O.N. "During the course of the day most of the Sisters at various times - unthinkingly - referred to me as 'Sister', although they usually rectified the mistake afterwards, but with not too much embarrassment. Certainly a sign as to how accepted I am!"

At the start these Sisters were hesitant about their ability to provide a suitable context for my study, and it was suggested that I should visit another of their branch houses

where more intensive family service work was being pursued. This I did but, while obtaining extremely valuable information with regard to the wider community functioning, I persisted with my original selection. I did in fact visit the other branch house on two further occasions, one of which was to interview a sister from my original group who had been moved there during my research period and the other to provide further comparative material. These visits gave me a deeper insight into the Community as a whole and were valuable in their own right. This hesitancy on the part of the Sisters was due not to lack of co-operation but to extreme anxiety that they could not do enough for me. This concerned anxiety was to be a recurring feature of my interaction with them.

For example on my first morning with the Sisters

> "Arrived as arranged at 9.30am. Brought into parlour as before and offered coffee. Somn joined by Sr.S. (Superior). Very solicitous and rather anxious. My visit had obviously been carefully arranged in many ways - but more from anxiety to please than from a desire to hide."

Again at the end of that day, a similar concern was expressed:

> "Considerable concern expressed by Sr.S. that I not be too late home - I would have my husband's tea to get! Irish view and I tried to explain that we shared cooking anyway, to try and keep a reasonable image! Over anxious that they would not have enough cases to interest me - tried to reassure her on this several times - not the quantity that mattered but what actually they were doing."

(b) <u>Selection and Entry into Second Group.</u>

It was only when I had been involved with this group for some months and had been able to assess more accurately their type of involvement, and had begun to develop categories, that I set about selecting the second group. It seemed that I should look for a secular comparative, who were working with a similar client group, and for convenience were in the same geographical location. Welfare Assistants within the Social Services Department exhibited many of the characteristics that I was seeking.

I informally discussed this idea with a social worker covering the same area in which the Sisters were located. From him I learned that each district team (of which there were four to an Area) had only one Welfare Assistant, but that within his own district there were also two Neighbourhood Aids, who would meet my general requirements. Neighbourhood Aids were temporary positions created as part of a Job

Creation Programme, where relatively young and inexperienced people were appointed to help out with the more basic and routine tasks within a social services team. There was a wide variation, I was to learn, among districts of their actual useage. The post is no longer in existence.

From a practical point of view, three workers within one office were easier to study than four disparately placed individuals. Also from a methodological angle, the interaction of workers in one place would give me closer matching in those aspects in which I was interested - namely the worker's own experience of his work setting.

I then sought official permission in writing from the Director of Social Services to undertake the research. This was passed down the line, via the Assistant Director (Field Work Services), to the Area Officer involved. Both myself and my husband were known to him in our professional capacities and I received a brief note asking me to contact the District Manager directly. This I did. He raised no difficulties and at his suggestion a fourth person, the Voluntary Help Organiser, was added to my original group of three non-qualified staff in whom I was specifically interested. All four were non-qualified as opposed to un-qualified - a distinction that it is important to emphasise.

(c) <u>Methods and Forms of Involvement with First Two Groups.</u>

I worked concurrently on these two groups using the same methods. I arranged to spend my time accompanying workers throughout their normal working day, observing and discussing informally with them about what they did, and why they were doing their particular work. Initially I spent one block of a week with each group (though this was staggered for the reasons outlined above) and then subsequently one day a week for a period of 3 and 6 weeks respectively. This discrepancy is somewhat misleading in that I had prolonged contact with the Sisters over and above the three whole days. These were however in the form of short visits to my original branch house, two visits (one for a whole day) to another branch already alluded to, and another visit to one of their Irish houses whilst on holiday. This provided further comparative data.

In order togive the reader a clearer idea of what was involved in these methods I propose to quote quite extensively from my field notes.

The following is an extract from my field notes on the First Day with the Sisters - I had been out visiting all day with one Sr.

O.N. "Went out visiting again - (.....) Very interesting case of a couple (Mr. and Mrs.X) and mentally handicapped daughter. All converts - instructed by Sisters - although I don't think they took advantage of their presence in the family. First daughter, then then mother and lastly father. Parents both invalid and in fact it is a mutually supportive arrangement. They used to be involved nursing heavily in this family but now encouraging daughter (who I didn't meet) to do as much as she can. Well known to Sisters and again reference to past Sister - had had a letter from her.)(.....)

Sr.A. always indicated whether the family was Catholic or not or if a convert - but this did seem to be only for information.

The car gave an opportunity for informal chatting as did walking between visits. (.....) In answer to question about how she managed to combine the religious life and work as a nurse - she had fairly simple but sincere views that indicated a depth of thought about the matter. The question was one of priorities 'why am I here?' There had to be a balance between the two parts if you were to lead the religious life with any meaning and not let your work suffer."

Likewise with the female Neighbourhood Aid in Social Services (X)

O.N. "Eventually I disentangled myself from the VHO and went to join X for some visits. We walked down with S (a newly appointed temporary social worker) - who was going to a client opposite X's.

X, S and I chatted as we walked down the road and I ascertained that the Neighbourhood Aid Scheme has apparently been extended for 6 months. (.....)
The first client was one whom we had tried to visit unsuccessfully before. She had apparently just been discharged from hospital and X was going to check that all was well. Perhaps not such an enthusiastic welcome - but no problems about company (that is me).
X gently but persistently elicited the necessary information from the old lady and it would appear that no-one more qualified or trained was necessary for the task.

T.N. With all the elderly cases we have met so far there appears to be no problem in accepting my presence - they all seem (with few exceptions) to be so starved of company that they are delighted at anyone calling who will spend some time talking. I have varied the degree of my involvement in the interviews - usually waiting until T has completed her 'business' and we've got on to the more social - but very necessary part of the visit.

O.N. Next visit to Mrs. A.(....) X.had told me on the way there that she intended to close the case and had referred her to WRVS for visits. However, after a very pleasant visit with this particular old lady - who X was obviously fond of - I was somewhat amused to hear her saying that she would call again! When I tackled her about this afterwards - she admitted that she found it difficult to close such cases so tended to put it off. Very understandably she is influenced by the fact of whether she enjoys visiting of not, I feel.

O.N. "I asked X. how she was getting on without W. (the W.A. who was on leave) - was there a shortage of things to do. She immediately denied this and said that she had quite a few routine visits of her own which she now had the time to get round. She even took up some of the new telephone referrals if they were straight-forward - in fact we called on one later in the morning. She seemed to enjoy working on her own and appears to organise her own time quite effectively."

This was participant observation similar to Whyte's 'Street Corner Society' (1969). I was not to do their work but to accompany them while they worked.

(i) <u>Participant Observation</u>

Obviously there is a considerable amount of literature relating to participant observation - I only wish to offer a few comments on the choice of this particular research role. There are many alternatives in the precise terminology used - participant as observer, observer as participant etc - and each is justified by a difference in approach by the particular author. Looking at a note on 'participant as observer' in Beynon and Blackburn's 'Perceptions of Work', we can begin to see the kinds of distinctions made.

"R.L. Gold, 'Roles in Sociological Field Observations' p.217, has pointed out that 'although basically similar to the complete observer role, the participant as observer role differs significantly in that both field worker and informant are aware that theirs is a field relationship. This mutual awareness tends to minimise problems of role pretending; yet, the role carries with it numerous opportunities for compart-mentalising mistakes and dilemmas which typically bedevil the complete participant.' While this is so, however, the 'participant as observer' approach brings with it the important problem of role definition, i.e., how the actors in the social situation cope with the researcher, and vice versa."

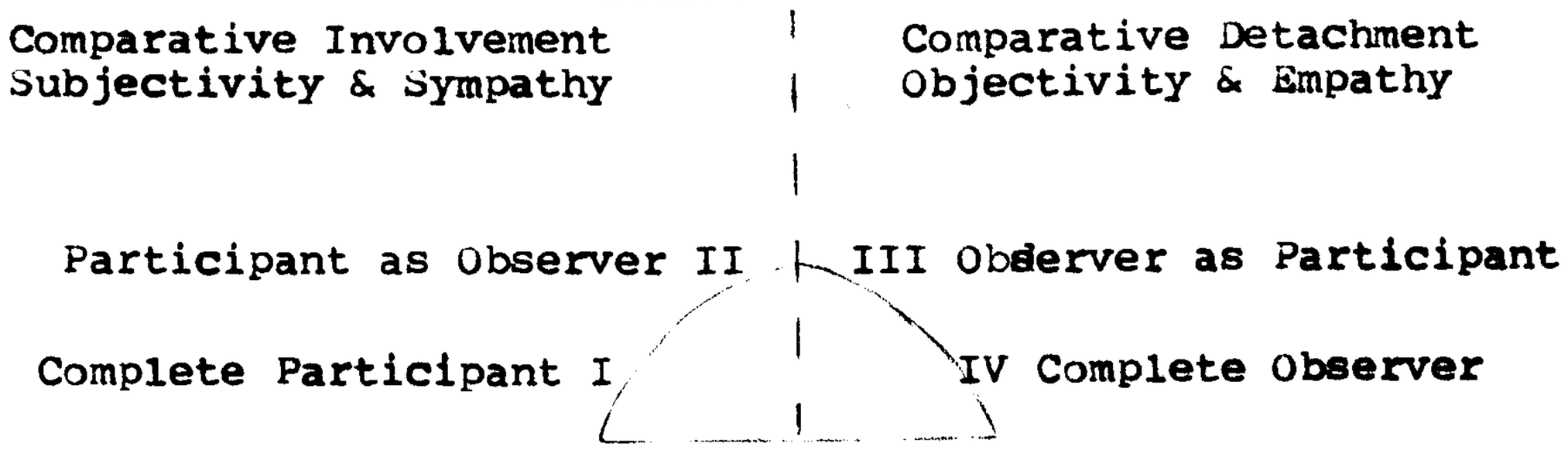
(Beynon & Blackburn, 1972, 8)

I was neither a complete observer, nor a complete participant. In the terminology of many other researchers, 'participant observer' covered my role quite adequately. This is Becker's definition :-

> "The participant observer gathers data by participating in the daily life of the group or organization he studies. He watches the people he is studying to see what situations they ordinarily meet and how they behave in them. He enters into conversation with some or all of the participants in these situations and discovers their interpretations of the events he has observed."
>
> (Becker, 1969, 245)

However, Junker (1960) offers a more precise distinction between four options - these he presents diagramatically thus:-

<u>Theoretical Social Roles for Field Work</u>



(Junker, 1960, 36)

I have already excluded I and IV. The distinction between II and III is more difficult to make in relation to my own position. In many ways I performed the role primarily of observer, with some participation, yet my identification with the groups (the Sisters and the Social Services) was more in keeping with Junker's 'Comparative Involvement, subjectivity and sympathy'. For me this particular distinction is not as useful as might initially be thought, for I feel that my role fluctuated between the two positions. Therefore it seems more appropriate to adopt the more usual term 'participant observer' as a description of my own stance.

Before leaving this discussion, I discovered that Becker's use of participant observation was very much in keeping with the methodology I had adopted - namely that of generating grounded theory.

> "Sociologists usually use this method when they are especially interested in understanding a particular organization or substantive problem rather than demonstrating relations between abstractly defined variables. They attempt to make their research theoretically meaningful, but they assume that they do not know enough about the organization a priori to identify relevant problems and hypotheses and that they must discover these in the course of the research."
>
> (Becker, 1969,246)

Although participant observation obviously can be used to test a priori hypotheses, this is not usually the case. Becker's discussion above

> "refers to the kind of participant observation study which seek to discover hypotheses as well as to test them."
>
> (Becker, 1969, 246)

(ii) <u>Interviewing.</u>

From a preliminary analysis of the data I had collected and my, by now, greater knowledge of the organisations I then formulated an interview schedule. This I administered in tapedindividual interviews, using the schedule as a guide only and encouraging free conversation whenever possible.

I chose to construct an interview schedule rather than a questionnaire for several reasons. Firstly, I considered that the Sisters in particular would be hesitant about committing themselves in writing and would find filling in a questionnaire a rather strange and unfamiliar process. This would obviously affect the quality of their responses. Secondly, a questionnaire did not seem a natural or appropriate follow-up to the very informal style of involvement that preceded it. Thirdly, I was anxious to ask very open-ended questions naturally more suited to an interview schedule rather than to a written questionnaire.

I decided to tape the interviews only after considerable thought, for I was concerned that this too would inhibit my respondents. I was also faced with the difficulty of locating a separate room in which to carry out the interviews.

No one refused to be interviewed nor did any object to the tape recorder, although it was remarked upon by most respondents. Fortunately all were gradually able to forget its presence, and any nervousness displayed at the start of the interviews soon disappeared completely. These tapes enabled me to quote their responses verbatim, an important factor given the qualitative nature of the research. This helped to mitigate the strain that using a tape recorder imposed on me! In only one interview (that of the male N.A) did I experience the technical problems that I dreaded, which necessitated a re-run of part of the interview. The other difficulty (and one which in itself reflects the success of the technique) was that with several respondents I ran off the end of the tape. Any responses that were lost in this way I noted down in longhand immediately after the interview, so little was irretrievably lost.

The schedule and its content will be discussed later in the more detailed section on research methods.

Glaser and Strauss point out the often concurrent nature of different research methods, and the cumulative effect this has on the types of questions one can ask at various stages of the research.

> "In field studies, theoretical sampling usually requires reading documents, interviewing, and observing at the same time, since all slices of data are relevant. There is little, if any, systematic interviewing of a sample of respondents, or interviewing that excludes observation. At the beginning of the research, interviews usually consist of open-ended conversations during which respondents are allowed to talk with no imposed limitations of time. Often the researcher sits back and listens while the respondents tell their stories. Later, when interviews and observations are directed by the emerging theory, he can ask direct questions bearing on his categories. These can be answered sufficiently and fairly quickly."
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 75/6)

This very adequately describes my own approach.

(d) Selection, Entry and Involvement with Third and Fourth Groups

Returning to the selection of groups, the next proved far more difficult. Towards the end of my involvement with the Sisters and the Social Services, I initiated enquiries regarding possible groups.

From the data I had collected so far, it seemed that I should look to a group which held a more evangelical position in a theological continuum. In my background reading, I had explored many of the pioneering projects of the Church of England and the Non-conformists. Although I had written a paper on the Salvation Army, it was by no means clear initially that it would be to that group that I would inevitably turn during my empirical work. However, the Salvation Army did offer certain unique opportunities for extending my theory. They are a sect, with statutory recognition of their social work contribution to society, yet retaining their individual and voluntary status. They offered also a residential setting, which it seemed profitable to explore. My choice was also affected by my previous experience in the sphere of single homeless, and the importance of this particular work within the total range of Salvation Army provision. This would again give me access to much data in the form of 'anecdotal comparisons.'

As I had with the first two groups, it seemed important to look too at the Salvation Army's closest Government counterpart - the Reception Centre or 'spike'.

But where should I find my specific group?

Again I sought the advice of a local Salvation Army Corp Commander known to me. He made several suggestions and outlined the general Salvation Army's organisational arrangements for my benefit. The immediate locality he advised against - this supported my own personal experience previously. I followed up his suggestion and contacted the manager of another large hostel in the vicinity.

Although a useful source of general information, this interview raised doubts in my mind about the feasibility of similar intervention in the second two institutions. It was the fact that they were <u>institutions</u> that was a major stumbling block. They were residential establishments with a very low ratio of staff to clients.

With regard to the Reception Centre, it was only with difficulty that I obtained the address of that nearest to the Salvation Army Hostel in question from the local DHSS Office. This was not altogether an encouraging sign.

Again through personal contacts, it was suggested by a social worker working amongst the single homeless that I might try an entirely different location where there was a wide range of provision, including the two institutions in which I was interested. Therefore I began a rather slow process of obtaining written permission from the Salvation Army Manager and Divisional Commander and clearance from the Government Reception Centre.

Interestingly it was the voluntary agency that proved the most difficult. Provided by the social worker in the area with the names and addresses of the S.A.Manager and his Divisional Commander I wrote to both outlining my request. Receiving no reply I wrote again. The Divisional Commander then replied quite warmly and enthusiastically, but queried if the Manager in question would agree, as apparently he had misgivings. I then received a telephone call from the Manager's wife saying they had sent a letter (never received) and would I like to visit. I hurriedly agreed and arranged the details,somewhat encouraged by the apparent change in response.

The Manager of the Reception Centre had been approached informally by my friend and had no objections providing I obtained the usual clearance at Regional Level. The social worker had also tried unsuccessfully to contact the Regional Manager for me, but thought that a telephone call would probably suffice. With this introduction I spoke on the telephone to both the Manager and the Regional Manager, both of whom were extremely co-operative, and I was given a "verbal blessing" to visit the Reception Centre to discuss the research further. I subsequently supplied all the details in writing to the Regional Manager and received written permission to continue.

But my troubles were far from over. On visiting the two institutions for exploratory discussions, I met with a total refusal to co-operate from the Salvation Army Manager, with whom I had an extremely difficult interview.

I also belatedly discovered that the Divisional Commander, whose written approval I had obtained was the Commander on the Field Side and not Social Services, and as such his authorisation was not recognised by the Manager of the hostel. (Although I have subsequently learned that 'rank' alone should have been sufficient authorisation!) The Manager was in fact quitewilling to contact the appropriate Commander, once I had accepted that I would have to go elsewhere, and he did try there and then to do so, but unsuccessfully. He also suggested an alternative S.A.Hostel situated 9-10 miles away. I was somewhat surprisingly shown round the hostel, at his instigation, by his wife - the very thing that they had been most emphatically against in the first place. Although, again this was a very negative meeting from the point of view of my original plans, I was all the time accumulating data related to the Salvation Army as a whole.

Contact with the suggested alternative proved far more positive, but initial discussions both here and with the Reception Centre convinced me that my original strategy could not be repeated. I was also more constrained at a practical level by distance from my base, but most importantly the information which I was seeking would not be obtained by the same methods. It was obvious that my methods would have to be tailored to the new situations.

Glaser & Strauss make reference to this very situation, and point to the distinct advantages to be gained from adopting their approach of theoretical sampling.

> "The criteria of theoretical sampling are designed to be applied in the ongoing joint collection and analysis of data associated with the generation of theory. Therefore, they are continually tailored to fit the data and applied judiciously at the right point and moment in the analysis. The analyst can continually adjust his control of data collection to ensure the data's relevance to the impersonal criteria of his emerging theory. By contrast, data collected according to a preplanned routine are more likely to force the analyst into irrelevant directions and harmful pitfalls. He may discover unanticipated contingencies in his respondents, in the library and in the field, but

> is unable to adjust his collection procedures or even redesign his whole project. In accordance with conventional practice, the researcher is admonished to stick to his prescribed research design, no matter how poor the data."
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 48/9)

I have explained the problems of selection of these last two groups at some length for a specific purpose. It indicates quite clearly the point made right at the beginning of the chapter - my conviction as to the necessity of a moving methodology.

My experience within the first two groups had moved to a different position - I was now, possessed of different information and experience, and was not viewing the third and fourth groups from exactly the same point as the first two. As we saw in Glaser & Strauss (1967), it is not a question of one set of methods being right and the other wrong, or of mistaken selection of the second two groups, but rather of the dynamic nature of research. The researcher himself is not static, neither therefore can his work be so. Such dynamism does not invalidate the methodology, but is intrinsic to it. As Paul Corrigan (1979) suggests, sociological research is simply one method of making sense of the work, and during this process it changes the way that the researcher sees the world. Inevitably, the centre of focus must change too, as a different way of understanding emerges.

After the initial discussions, I agreed to return to the Reception Centre for a further interview with the Manager himself, with the option open for a subsequent visit. I hoped too to ask him to keep a week's diary of his day-to-day work. On my first visit I was taken on a full tour of the Centre and this was to be a third facet of my research methods. Thus I hoped to gain the information required (previously categorised) from a more formal interview with Manager in which I took extensive notes, observation of the Centre and the self-completed diary. This was to be the pattern with the Salvation Army Manager too.

These changes in methods were very much influenced by structural constraints. This is what I was offered by the

Reception Centre as an alternative to my original request for a similar style involvement as with the first two groups. At the Reception Centre any observation of the other staff (particularly those involved directly with the men) would have necessitated Union approval - a lengthy process which could easily have still led to a refusal to co-operate. It seemed wise, in the circumstances, to accept what was offered by the Manager, there and then, bearing in mind that he was confident that I would learn as much, if not more,in this way. With the Salvation Army - I found that there also these methods were acceptable, whereas my former proposals were not. The best methods, it is to be remembered, are those which produce the information required!

In an article 'Fieldwork in Bureaucracy' Blau (1966) makes reference to the feelings of insecurity experienced by observers of bureaucracies and suggests that for this very reason any attempt at concealment or deception by the researcher is doomed to failure. Yet one more factor which made it sensible to accept what was offered.

In reality there was some variation. The Reception Centre Manager felt that not his role, but rather that of his Executive Officer was more comparable to the S.A. Manager. Given that he thought she would be unwilling to co-operate in this way, he outlined her activities during my interview with him, and no diary as such was completed. With this exception I was able to obtain the other information that I looked for. With the Salvation Army the diary was completed and I had a brief third visit to the hostel to collect this. A comparable visit to the Reception Centre was not indicated.

Throughout the entire process of the research I maintained a research diary of my activities. This documented the process of selection and entry, as well as recording factual information collected during my interviews. I had a full and permanent record of how the empirical work had developed, which was invaluable when it came to writing it up. Also it formed another 'slice of data' in its own right.

I have included a full chronology of events, in summary of what has been stated so far, entitled "What, When and Why", which forms an appendix to this chapter. This is not the research diary itself though. This chronology forms a self-conscious and integral part of the methodology, which is often wrongly neglected.

Discussion of Methods of Collecting - Analyzing Empirical Data, together with their presentation.

Much concerning the actual research methods employed has already been outlined, but some further detailing is now appropriate.

One feature of the whole research project, which is immediately apparent, is the relative informality of my involvement. I relied very heavily on my own personal contacts to facilitate both selection and entry into the groups. Undoubtedly I could have pursued this through formal channels alone, but I was attempting to create a certain kind of researcher/researched relationship which would permit of a more intimate and intensive sharing of the workers' experience. To a degree this was more successfully obtained amongst the Sisters and the Social Services staff. In itself this told me much about the nature of the institutions of the Salvation Army and Reception Centre, where such a relationship was not as easily obtained.

One factor that must be underlined here is that I was a woman. With the Sisters I was in an all female environment where my very sex facilitated my acceptance. Again in Social Services, three of my respondents were female, and an extra female presence was nothing to be remarked upon - in fact it could almost be considered the norm within social work. However, with the Salvation Army and the Reception Centre, I had moved into a very male domain. Their clients were exclusively male and their staff were male dominated. There seemed to be an almost instinctive need demonstrated to 'protect' me from 'those down and outs'. This was somewhat ironical given my experience in the Night Shelter, where I had been thrown into much closer contact than was ever envisaged happening during my observational research!

Although necessarily having to utilise my professional credentials to gain entry and establish my confidentiality as regards clients, I tried deliberately to minimise this factor once it had served this purpose. I did not wish to be forced into the role of professional v. amateur, or professional v. non-qualified workers. There was some evidence that to some, particularly the VHO, I was perceived as some threat to their own status, but this I feel did not become too disruptive of my overall relationship.

Looking in more detail at the Interview Schedules (See Appendix 1a & 1b) why did I concentrate on those particular questions? The factual details in the first section are almost self-explanatory. I was particularly interested in the professional status or not of the workers, as this was an aspect that I suspected might be important in the analysis of the different service provided to clients.

How they perceived their work, and thus how they would explain to others what they did was obviously central to my thesis. Change was another factor, which I wished to monitor. Could they relate changes in practice to the development of theory or theology?

Attitudes to work, in particular their source of motivation, and the attitudes of those whom they helped, both gave me a clearer picture of the experience of being a worker in a religious or a secular organisation. It also indicated a possible cause for the differing services they provided for their clients - for differ they certainly did. Were workers aware of the significance of the religious or secular element in their work? Was it the attitudes of clients that contributed to the difference or solely that of the workers? these were all underlying questions which I hoped would be answered during the interviews.

Finally, I needed to locate the groups on a statutory/ voluntary continuum and reflect their overall relationship to the rest of society and their respective roles, including the thorny question of funding.

I was able to complete interviews on five out of the seven Sisters. One had moved North during my period of involvement and it was not considered important enough to follow her across the country to obtain an interview. The other non-interviewee was an elderly Sister who was seriously ill and therefore unavailable. Within the Social Services, all four staff concerned were interviewed.

(a) Recording and Analysis of the Empirical Data

Given that the main emphasis of the research was on qualitative data gained through participant observation, it was essential that I could record my observations as fully as possible.

While working alongside the Sisters I was faced with the additional problem of being unable to take notes in any form throughout the day. This was due both to the nature of the organisation, and respect for confidentiality regarding clients. I thus had to rely totally on memory when recalling the day's events to type up in the evening. Fortunately, some practice in remembering details from long social work interviews was of assistance here.

Following the system devised by Schatzman and Strauss in 'Field Research' (1973), I adopted three classifications of field notes. The main content was written under the marginal key of Observational Notes (O.N.) - i.e., what happened, what I did, saw and heard. Secondly, as a very preliminary form of analysis, entries were made under Theoretical Notes (T.N.) - i.e., when I made some remark about a previous observational note, suggesting some explanation or relationship to other items, as an ongoing part of the process of recording. Thirdly, there were Methodological Notes (M.N.) - i.e., where I entered significant areas or points that required further research and clarification. Of necessity these notes were quite extensive.

Again examples will clarify these distinctions.

O.N. Sharing of cases seems very central to their whole style - it seems that at various times most sisters will visit the same client, even though one particular Sister may know the family best and all will have some knowledge of the case.

T.N. This sharing indicates a lack of possessiveness about cases in one way. They seem to view themselves as a family with an extended group of friends (clients/patients) - perhaps the fact they are not 'professional' means that they are not concerned with treading on someone elses's toes or of upsetting protocol. Confidentiality was not alluded to - but the sort of communication that was displayed indicated that knowledge was pooled amongst the Sisters.

Also -

O.N. Sr.C. produced a pile of books - including papal encyclicals on social issues, some fairly old books relating to codes of social principles and social order. Seemed surprised that I would be interested in the religious side of the community - had it fixed in her mind that I only wanted stuff on social work. Tried to put this right.

M.N. This problem of them defining my area of interest in terms of social work only and not religion will need some attention paying to it. Indications so far are not so much that they are unwilling to give me this information but that they don't think I would be interested.

With the Social Services staff in the office setting some concurrent note taking was possible, though again not while out visiting.

These field notes provided the basis of my empirical data, together with the transcriptions of my taped interviews. Some written documentation e.g., job descriptions, biographies of the Founders of the Community and their Centenary booklet, was also available, to provide another 'slice of data.'

Adopting as I did a variety of methods, i.e., employing a multi-faceted investigation procedure, this led to a variety of what Glaser & Strauss call 'slices of data'.

There is one particular slice of data which I would like to re-emphasise - that of "anecdotal comparison".

> "Through his own experiences, general knowledge, or reading, and the stories of others, the sociologist can gain data on other groups that offer useful comparisons. This kind of data can be trusted if the experience was "lived". Anecdotal comparisons are especially useful in starting research and developing core categories. The researcher can ask himself where else has he learned about the category and make quick comparisons to start to develop it and sensitize himself to its relevancies."
>
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 67).

This provided the rationale behind the choice of groups, for as can be seen in the short biography, I had experience in most of the relevant areas, or access to people in that particular field.

Other important facets of the investigation were visits to specialist libraries (The Catholic Library in London and two Convent Libraries), and access to a wide range of literature. (See Chapter 2).

After completing involvement with the first two groups I began a more detailed analysis. I extended the theoretical notes in the form of separately recorded 'Memos' - suggesting possible relationships between events and generally interpreting the observational notes. At the same time I categorised the data from the field notes and transcriptions into five major groupings with sub-divisions -

I Professional v. Amateur (This category was changed for the Sisters to Statutory v. Voluntary, while the other four groupings were the same).

II Ideology v. Practice.

III Organizational Context.

IV Worker Relationships.

V Clients.

This categorisation was formulated by a process of identification, and marginal notation, of the major elements within the field notes. I thus listed specific items from the notes, under their appropriate headings, together with page location for further reference.

I also listed the work tasks of the four non-qualified staff in the Social Services.

These were attempts to break down the mass of qualitative data I had collected into a more readily manageable form, and to try and relate the various conceptual categories.

For the second two institutions, given the different methods employed and the fact that they were preceded by the other two groups, I simplified the process of recording. I wrote up my interviews with the two Managers, together with my impressions, in a straightforward reporting of events, information and answers to specific questions. Occasionally, as with the main interview with the Reception Centre Manager, I took notes during the interview, but as before most was recalled after the interaction was completed.

I did little further written analysis of this material until I began incorporating the material into the chapters, other than marginal notations about categories, and writing 'memos'.

(b) Making Sense of Data

Having outlined my own research methods in some detail, it is useful to examine certain views about research and research methods in general.

I was interested in relating people's beliefs and actions or as Moore puts it - trying to show "the situational relations between beliefs and actions" (Moore, 1974, 230). Due to a similar strategy, Moore highlights some of the difficulties that dealing with "interactional and highly situational data" brings to the researcher, such as myself. He found that the life of mining villages was not orientated to the production of data for sociologists!

> "Thus the data actually collected may raise issues that are not dealt with in any other literature and it is not possible therefore to gain a ready perspective on their relevance - especially if the issues are not central to this research ..... Conversely data that are central to our main themes may not be forthcoming; the obvious example in this case was the lack of hard data on relations at the place of work."
>
> (Moore, 1974, 230).

This fact needs to be borne in mind.

Obviously priorities need to be established in any research, and in some instances certain advantages are only gained in one area at the cost of sacrificing others. For Moore, as for myself, the advantage of a fairly restricted location provoked a deeper search for data than if a wider area had been taken and more accessible data.

Junker (1960) talks about a range of information - public, confidential, secret, private - that is potentially available to researchers. The level at which one is permitted access depends on the acceptance of the researcher, the type of organisation and other more nebulous factors, such as the personalities of those involved and timing. The acceptance of the researcher is so central to the success of research involving participation or observation within groups that I would like to raise some of the issues now.

Hargreaves (1967) addresses himself to this issue of acceptance and makes the important point, that is certainly relevant to my own experience, that the researcher often learns more from trivial comments that are not appreciated as of social significance. These can only be gained if the researcher is accepted and people adjust to his presence, and stop treating him as such. If respondents are continually reminded that they are being observed this inhibits future relations enormously, Hargreaves feels. Another problem which can influence the researcher is that of attempting to study two categories of people within the same interaction - those in control and those who are controlled. Although hopefully this distinction does not intrude in social work relationships as often as in certain other professional encounters, it is still there, and it is worth noting what Hargreaves has to say -

> "Within organizations such as school, factories, hospitals and prisons, a distinction can be made between the 'controllers' (teachers, managers, doctors and warders) and the 'controlled' (pupils, workers, patients, prisoners). Between these two levels yawns the gap of status distinctions, which a participant-observer cannot necessarily bridge. Toparticipate and observe involves to some extent shedding the researcher-role, since participation means accepting in some degree a normal role within the social situation. But to accept such a role, whilst facilitating the process of absorption into the community, entails limitations on material obtained and bias in its interpretation."

I went some way to solving this problem by focussing my attention on the workers, and adopting a stance acceptable to them in relation to those clients with whom I was brought into contact.

Although one hopes that as you become increasingly accepted, your 'visibility' will fade, there is also a sense in which Whyte (1969) is right in pointing out that many people have an expectation that a researcher will be different and that he should remain so.

One feature that seems to be accepted by most writers in this area is the importance of providing a picture of oneself - a personal background. Not only is this important

from the point of view of those being observed, but it helps others develop a better understanding of the research itself and the way it has developed. As Cicourel (1968) suggests comprehension depends very much on the frame of reference of the observer.

Linked into this whole question of acceptance and role definition is the fact that often it is as much the personality of the researcher which affects his acceptance as the actual view of the research project held by his respondents.

> "A person becomes accepted as a participant observer more because of the kind of person he turns out to be in the eyes of the field contacts than because of what the research represents to them."
> (Dean, 1954, 225 - 252).

In fact it can be suggested that "the researcher should direct his initial energies to building relationships with subjects rather than to gathering data." (Scott, 1969, 567). As Whyte (1969) notes it is particularly important that you gain the support of key individuals within the groups studied.

Finally, what does the researcher have to offer to his respondents? For many, this might not be the first question that springs to mind - importance may be laid on the contribution to the academic world, personal satisfaction &c. Wax reminds us that every researcher is in fact a teacher "demonstrating how an investigator behaves and training members of the subject group to play the roles of respondent and informant" (Quoted in Scott from Wax 'Twelve Years Later; An Analysis of Field Experience" AJS 63 (1957) p.133-142.) However, apart from this I feel that the researcher does have something to offer in return for a group's co-operation. The extent of this will obviously vary with the circumstances and the researcher involved. It is useful to quote Scott in this regard:

> "Only rarely does the researcher pay his subjects for their services...The typical researcher, however, does have something to offer his respondents. In his scientific role, the researcher can offer them the opportunity to contribute to a scientific study, and he may hold out to them the promise that their situation will be somehow improved as a result of his search, if this is in fact the case.

> The researcher, however, seldom has the power to back up the latter offer. The major incentives stem from the researcher's non-scientific role attributes and, specifically, from his role as participant. For example, he may offer himself as an interested outsider who will listen to grievances and complaints and as a person against whom aggression may be expressed without fear of reprisal. And he provides an opportunity for subjects to interact with a person of considerable education and status, an experience many find gratifying. As the participant, the researcher can, most simply, return the friendliness offered him. More specifically, the researcher can furnish information about himself and his background when questioned, and he can provide various kinds of favors and services to respondents. ...The investigator can also offer his respondents a ready ear and an open mind."
>
> (Scott, 1969, 569 - 570).

Scott sees here then a variety of techniques at the disposal of the researcher that enables him to pay off his 'social debts'. All this does not detract from Hargreave's comment that

> "The primary function of the social researcher is to make a diagnosis, not prescribe a cure!"
>
> (Hargreaves, 1967, X).

Perhaps fortuitously sometimes a suggestion for a cure can be combined with diagnosis:

(c) <u>The Form in which the Data is Presented in the Thesis.</u>

A very important point needs to be raised here. There is a recognised relationship between ways of finding out (i.e., methods) and what you have found out (i.e., data). This relationship is, of course, methodology. However, in addition, there is a third dimension which is often wrongly neglected. In doing research one has to write about the relationship between methods and data, and this presents another problem. This is a problem of <u>form.</u> How are you going to write about the research in a way which is relevant not only to the data but also to the methods? The description of this <u>process</u> of writing is usually dodged. People thus often adopt an essentially positivist approach and just 'do it' in a conventional way, which may be completely irrelevant and inappropriate to their own research. This is not however, what I have done.

I have tried to construct a form which will relate not only to the methods but also to the kind of data in which I was involved - thus there is an intrinsic and important relationship between form, content and method. This obviously necessitates self-consciously explaining just how I did write up the research, and the next sub-section is devoted to this. Chapter Two demonstrates very clearly why such a form is necessary, and examples how the form is related to my methodology.

Before leaving this issue of presentation, I need also to explain quite briefly the actual notation within quotations. Empirical data from other literature is signified by indenting the quotation, and using quotation marks and single spacing. Material from my own field notes is similarly treated. Quoted data from the taped interviews are also denoted in a similar manner, but here there are some important distinctions to be made. Gaps in the conversation, i.e., natural pauses or breaks in speech, are indicated by simple dots thus ... However, if I have omitted phrases from the original material this is denoted thus (.....). Within the interviews, comments within brackets indicate that they are made by the other speaker, whether interviewer or respondent. The interviews have been left completely unedited,or tidied up. This was deliberately done to enable the reader to understand better the nature of the actual data.

(d) <u>The Writing up Process.</u>

The process of writing began before I became involved with the Reception Centre and the Salvation Army. Partly this was necessitated by pragmatic reasons and partly by deliberate choice. I had to submit one chapter, together with the outline of the thesis, for the approval of the Higher Degrees Committee to enable me to convert from my original M.Phil. registration to that of Ph.D. At the same time, having completed a period of intensive field work with the first two groups I needed to begin to make sense of what appeared to be very 'rich' data before continuing, for my methodology dictated that my first

intervention would necessarily affect any subsequent work. Thus I wrote the Chapter entitled Perceptions of Work. Why this chapter rather than any other, was dictated by the fact that 'work' as a category was emerging, somewhat unexpectedly, as a central theme to the whole research. Work provided the link between structure, ideology and practice.

It was only as I began to discover the areas 'thrown up' by the data that I could see which were potentially relevant areas of literature to explore - for example the sociology of work. This important facet of my methodology will be dealt with at far more length in the next chapter.

Writing up is acknowledged to be a slow and rather painful process for most researchers. They are struggling with half-formulated ideas, often a mass of detailed information, trying to push their analysis to its logical conclusions while still relating it to the existing body of theory as appropriate. For me it has been no different, particularly as I was expecting the data to generate its own theory.

I followed my second period of field work with another empirical chapter - that on Social Service Work and Client Groups. This, as I allude to later, was necessarily written in a different way. I had not interviewed clients for they were not the focus of the research, but it was obvious that I could not write about the social work process without mentioning 'the clients'. Thus the material for this chapter was derived from observation and inferred from what workers told me.

Throughout this period reading and writing were inextricably entwined. Turning to more theoretical concerns, I began drafting Chapter Three which was to be concerned with the historical and theoretical background of the four institutions. This was closely followed by Chapter Four in which I wished to consider the implications of ideology for the practice of the groups. By then I had identified the importance of organisational forms, so I began to direct my

attention to the ideas of community and bureaucracy which were to form the basis of a further empirical chapter. I will return to the question of the ordering of these chapters shortly.

Having completed the five empirical chapters in their preliminary drafts, I began writing the Methodology Chapter, followed by Chapter 2 in which I dealt with my own relationship to existing literature. Finally, the concluding chapter was written.

Unfortunately, this account of the writing-up process does not indicate sufficiently the inevitably disjointed procedure through which the writer must go. Originally, I had envisaged that the three empirical chapters which were to constitute Section C would not be ordered as they were written - for example the chapter on community and bureaucracy would precede that on work and then clients. However, as the writing developed, it became apparent that a more logical reading of thedata was obtained by re-ordering the chapters as they had been in fact written in their initial drafts.

The rationale for the order was thus very much influenced by the way in which I wrote the thesis, the timing etc., and not by the nature of the material per se.

My analysis also was developing <u>as</u> I wrote the various drafts, and in some instances this led to some re-structuring within the chapters as I reached a clearer understanding of the full picture of what I was trying to say. Unfortunately writers so often do not document this process and so give the impression that it is a smooth, clear cut method by which they arrive at the final product! The actual writing-up of the research, I feel, has to be seen as <u>integral</u> to the whole research process and as such it needs a fuller explanation of the actual steps by which it is completed.

(e) The Structure of the Thesis.

At this juncture too I wish to provide the reader with four section briefs, which have also been repeated at the beginning of each Section (as Introductions) for the benefit of the reader, acting as a reminder of the content of each chapter. This I hope will aid the reader to see an overall picture of how the thesis is arranged, in rather more detail than is possible in the abstract.

Section A

This Section aims to introduce the reader to the research, the structure of the thesis, and more specifically to the overall methodology which was adopted. This necessarily includes a discussion of the actual methods utilised, including the process of writing-up, and the approach employed towards existing literature.

Section A consists of two chapters - Chapter One 'Making Sense of the World and Writing About It' and Chapter Two 'Making Sense of the Literature'. Having introduced the topic of the research in Chapter One, and explained the early development of the research idea, discussion turns to the methodology I adopted. This necessarily incorporates an outline of the methodology of Glaser & Strauss upon which I was to rely quite heavily. I have provided the reader next with a brief but self-conscious autobiography which helps to explain the direction taken by the empirical work, which is then outlined. Selection and entry into the various groups is detailed, together with a discussion of the actual methods used, in particular that of participant observation, and interviewing. A description is also provided of the way in which the empirical data was recorded and analysed, together with a more general discussion of how people make sense of data, as well as the form in which data is presented in the thesis. The actual process of writing-up is documented in some detail, as being integral to the whole research, followed

by a review of the structure of the thesis presented in the form of section briefs. The chapter ends with a reflection as to how my own methodology is an attempt to move Glaser & Strauss's methodology on a little further. A chronology of 'What, When & Why' appears as an appendix to Chapter One, offering a clearer perspective of the overall sequence of the research, for the benefit of the reader.

Chapter Two concentrates on another dimensionof the methodology, that of my relation to other literature, and illustrates the importance of establishing a relevant form for a thesis. It does not seek to provide the conventional Review of the Literature, which is a feature of many theses, but explores how I myself related to existing literature and where relevant incorporated it into the research as another 'slice' of empirical material. In particular this Chapter demonstrates the multiplicity and diversity of strands of literature which were involved - highlighting the difficulties that this presented by means of two examples of different substantive areas. The Chapter continues with a discussion of the differences and similarities between these various major strands in the literature, and explores the implications which this has for the rest of the thesis.

Section B

Having set the scene in Section A, with the introduction of the topic and a discussion of the methodology, Section B turns to the empirical material and provides the first of the two main empirical Sections.

Chapter Three is concerned with the historical development of the four institutions involved, namely the Roman Catholic Church, the Salvation Army, the Personal Social Services and Government Provision for the Single Homeless - the Reception Centres. These descriptive sub-sections are then followed by an historical analysis of the relationship of church and state, with reference to the work of others in this area. Finally, the four groups are set in relationship to the Welfare State. I have particularly focussed, within the four sub-sections, on the origins of social work and the particular theories which accompanied the development

of social work involvement in both the religious and the secular field. Inevitably they cannot provide exhaustive histories, but they can help to make sense of the modern day situation by tracing the development of thought within these institutions.

Chapter Four focusses on the other structural way of making sense of institutions, that of ideology. Just as Chapter Three was concerned with history as structure, now attention is drawn to ideology as structure - or the way in which it structures the world. Within this chapter, having introduced the concept of ideology, particularly in relation to practice, the contemporary role of the church in the 'welfare state' is considered. Next, the sociological distinction between church and sect is briefly explored, and the similarities between the religious order and the sect are examined in the light of the empirical data collected in respect of two of the groups. The rest of the chapter is devoted to five separate ideological points which were either, like the concept of vocation, expected to influence the workers within the institutions studies, or emerged during the research as central issues - as did the attitude to the family, to death and dying and the importance of external symbols such as dress. Lastly, an examination of the concept of genericism within Social Services Departments and the Sisters provides an illustration of just how ideology can become distorted in the process of becoming practice.

Chapter Four thus draws both on the empirical data available within the literature and within the data collected by me. Like Chapter Three, it provides the underpinnings for the next Section, which deals with the empirical material as related to three central themes - that of work, clients and organisation.

Section B should obviously be read in conjunction with Section C but, while both are concerned with the presentation of the empirical material of the research, they remain distinct in their emphasis and purpose.

Section C

As has been already indicated, Section C presents the empirical data as related to three central themes; Chapter Five - Perceptions of Work, Chapter Six - Social Service Work and Client Groups and Chapter Seven - Community and Bureaucracy as Organisational Forms. Detailed consideration of this data is now possible given the fact that Section B provided the historical antecedents and raised the ideological issues which are important to the understanding of the four institutions and their services.

Chapter Five is concerned with perceptions of work and focusses attention on those studied as "workers". The centrality of work as a category of analysis only emerged after the first stage of empirical work had been completed. In attempting to make sense of the experience of those providing social work services for clients, it was clear that their perception of work and experience of work was of crucial significance. Work then constructs the relationship between forms of practice and organisations. It becomes central to the whole thesis, and is thus the most lengthy of all the chapters, dealing with a considerable range of empirical material. Having described the work groups, the relationship with the working environment is examined in the light of two major respects - the work factors and orientation. Work factors were taken to revolve around the three sets of relationships in which the worker is involved - worker to colleague, worker to organisation and hierarchy, and worker to client.Orientation can then be monitored through the relationship of worker to researcher and what workers said about their work. From this emerged the focus for the second half of the chapter - a section I have entitled 'Worrying about the Job'. Work anxiety, although differentially experienced, was of major significance.

Chapter Six concentrates on the clients' experiences of the four institutions from which they sought help. This information was not gained by direct interview but from observation and inference from what workers said.

These subjective experiences are examined under such factors as organisation, motivation, relationship and emotional/spiritual content of the service. This chapter is also concerned to contrast secular and religious provision in these respects.

The final chapter within this section turns to the organisational form within which the service is provided, for like work, this had clearly emerged during the research as a fundamental issue. The subjective experience of workers and clients has been explored earlier in the section, and now the actual organisational form is scrutinized. Community, as measured in terms of the members' sense of solidarity and significance, is contrasted with bureaucracy. The four groups are considered with reference to these two organisational forms, and two concrete examples of the effects of organisation are examined in a section on Power and Authority and another on the Use of Volunteers. The chapter ends with an analysis of the implications of community for those who 'care', and the conclusion that community provides a difficult butvery favourable setting for social work.

Section D

Necessarily the main aim of the final section is to draw together those findings already reported (both implicitly and explicitly), and to comment upon them. Together with this, the implications for future research and practice with pointers for areas of future research are presented.

In Chapter Eight 'Epilogue', as in Chapter Two, the difficulties that the very methodology imposes on the writing up of the results is first discussed. Then a variety of means of conveying the findings are explored in a section entitled 'Ways of Concluding'. Summaries provide a resume of what each group was found to be like, for nowhere else has this information been drawn together as related to the four institutions. Following this two

examples of continua give the reader some indication of the relationship of the four groups to each other. Such polarities as voluntary-statutory and community-bureaucracy are here examined. Next I turn to the fact that the hypothesis implicit within the very selection of the groups, i.e., that religious organisations would necessarily be different from their secular counterparts in the type of service they provided, proved to be invalid. This naturally leads into a discussion related to the distinction between objective labels and subjective experience, and what really influences clients in their potential choice of organisation. A number of further discovered variables are then presented, too numerous to detail here. Finally, the over-riding discovery is highlighted - the centrality of community in distinguishing one form of social work provision from another, and the importance of the context of social work.

The second section of Chapter Eight is a discussion of the implications, both for research and practice, of my research. Firstly, in relation to future research I consider what changes I would now make if I was doing the same research again. Several important implications directly related to the methodology are then explored. Secondly, in relation to future practice the implications focus very much on the issues of structure, ideology and community, and the environment of the carers, Vocation and its meaning today is discussed as related to the perception of work. The elderly as a category of people most in need is highlighted, as is the factor of 'time' from the client's point of view. The chapter concludes with some ideas as to the direction that future research might take, and answers the question "What Next?", not least in regard to the vital necessity of making research accessible not only to academics but also to practitioners.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented a discussion of the methodology and the methods by which I carried out the research. Although adopting an overall methodology very much in line with the Discovery of Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), there are some points which I have treated

differently. As such, I am attempting to develop the methodology and move it on further. Glaser & Strauss place some emphasis on the idea of continuing to seek more and more comparisons until the conceptual categories are completely saturated. This question of saturation will obviously differ from one area to another. Saturation, I feel, can be achieved in two ways - as Glaser & Strauss suggest by continuing to seek comparisons and so obtaining more and more comparative data as a basis for analysis; or by pursuing a limited number of comparisons at greater depth. I chose to obtain in depth relationships which obviously, from constraints of time and the availability of access, meant that I had to limit the number of comparisons. There is nothing to stop the researcher looking at further comparisons at a future date.

There are many advantages to the kind of methodology which I have adopted, as this chapter has sought to indicate. One particular problem however is the question of generalising from the specific organisations studied. Although critics can point to the fact that these groups may not be typical of their kind, I would ask where such a hypothetical 'typical' organisation is to be found? Inevitably there are some variations of time and place, personality and relationships which make for some differences - but in the essentials they remain the same. I have been concerned with historical, structural and ideological issues which over-ride the lesser variations of time and place.

The thesis I hope will be of use to practitioners as well as academics and I am concerned therefore to try to ensure that their interest and understanding isincreased by the actual presentation of the material in such a way that it reminds them of their own subjective experiences as workers in the field of social service.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER ONE:

What, When and Why

Date

The research originated from an interest in the involvement of various denominations in the field of social work - the reasons why they were involved and whether there was any intrinsic difference between church based social work and that practised under 'secular' auspices.

Oct. 1975 — Read limited literature on historical background of social work and religious involvement. From this emerged a picture of two streams of development - church and social work. In the 19th Century these institutions, in the form of charitable and philanthropic endeavours, were closely identified. However, with the emergence and growth of social work, particularly under the influence of psychoanalytic theory, this identification diminished. The State (in the form of statutory social work) in many ways assumed the responsibility for the well-being of individuals, previously felt by the Church. However, the deep-rooted belief in a Christian duty to 'love one's neighbour' ensured continuing involvement in the social work field by the Church.

The term 'church' denotes both institutional involvement and that of individuals stemming from a personal religious motivation, over a wide spectrum of Christian denominations. Clearly wide variations occur within this spectrum, partly due to theological differences and partly due to differing historical relationships with the State. A broad division needed to be made between Evangelical and Catholic. Reflecting this view two brief background studies were carried out.

Firstly I chose to critically examine the classical text written by thefounder of the Salvation Army, William Booth, entitled 'In Darkest England and the Way Out.' For it seemed that the Salvation Army, with all their social involvement both in the past and today, might provide an example of the Evangelical end of the spectrum. This study was based purely on the literature.
Secondly I chose to look at the Roman Catholic Church, in the context of England, and its social work involvement. This I exampled with an historical account of the local Rescue Society. Again I hoped this might provide me with my Catholic Example. To enable me to write this particular study, I interviewed the past Administrator of the local Rescue Society.

From these background studies, I then began to explore the use of the concept 'community' both in theological and statutory social work spheres, for it appeared that 'community' may be the point

of re-integration of the two streams of church and social work I had detected in the historical literature.

However it became clearer that the focus of the empirical work should remain with my original interest - the effect of overt religious affiliation on the actual practice of social work.

I therefore started to work on the theoretical and methodological problems of carrying out this research.
Read certain methodological literature - as a result decided to adopt an overall methodology similar to the Discovery of Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

I decided to focus attention on four groups undertaking social work - two religious and two secular, concentrating on institutional involvement, rather than individual.

Empirical Work.

Feb. 1976

In selecting the groups, my own previous experience and contacts were very much taken into account. The background work suggested that a Roman Catholic Religious Community involved in social work would be ideal. With one specific Community in mind, I approached a Senior Priest of the Diocese for his assistance. Unprompted he suggested the very community I had in mind, and was willing to arrange a meeting for me with the Superior. I was known personally to him, and this together with my own familiarity with Religious Communities, greatly facilitated a smooth entry to the group. The only discussion at this point was the suitability of that particular branch house. It was arranged for me to visit another house, before I decided. Although I chose to remain with the original group, for methodological reasons, it did enable me to gather additional data of a wider nature about the total community.

March. 22 - 25

Arranged to work alongside the Sisters, initially for a Block Week, and subsequently for one day a week.
Block Week.
Each day I joined the Sisters about 9 a.m., and accompanied them throughout the day until about 5 p.m. I was usually attached to one sister, for the purposes of visiting, but met with all of them informally at the mid-day meal at the Convent. I was unable to take notes during the course of the day, but on my return home each evening, I typed up the events of the day in the form of Observational Notes (what had happened), Theoretical Notes (a preliminary form of analysis of what was happening) and Methodological Notes (reminders of things I needed to do or ask).

After I was well into the first group, the second group which was to be the secular counterpart of the Sisters needed to be set up. I informally discussed the position with a L.A. Social Worker, covering the same geographical area as the Community, to sound out who would be doing comparable work in his team. It was suggested that the Welfare Assistant and the Neighbourhood Aids were the people on whom I should focus.

Having informally ascertained the potential feasibility of this I formally requested access to the Team from the Director of Social Services. Again my own Social Work qualifications, and past experiencein Probation, facilitated acceptance.

Throughout this time I continued visiting the Sisters periodically, and I called to see another branch house in Ireland, which gave me yet another dimension of their work.

June 1976 — Permission from the Director was passed to me via the Area Officer, who suggested direct contact with the District Manager involved.

At the same time that I was arranging entry to the Social Services Department, I also wished to move on to the next stage with the Sisters - i.e., I wished to discover more about their records and referrals. I was not allowed direct access to their records, but a list of cases broken down into various categories were to be provided.

June 23rd — Visited District Office for initial discussion and orientation - no problems were raised, but it was suggested that in addition to looking at what the Welfare Assistant and the Neighbourhood Aids did I also followed the work of theVHO. The same type of access was arranged - a Block Week, followed by individual visits each week.

July 5 - 9th — Block Week - Social Services Department.
The non-qualified staff were selected for their comparability with the Sisters in type of client and, for the most part, lack of qualifications. The most significant difference was that within the Department - given the very different expectations of what a researcher should be doing - I was able to make some brief notes during my time in the office.
The same pattern of writing up the empirical data was maintained.

July 29th — Received referral figures from Sisters.
Did Meals on Wheels Delivery as part of involvement with Social Services.

Aug. 1976

With the first two groups well established, I turned to consider the selection of the next two groups. Again my own past experience was one factor to be borne in mind. I had prior to working in Probation spent some time with the Cyrenians, working full-time in a Night Shelter for single homeless. I was therefore interested in and conversant with that sphere of work.
I had already decided that the Salvation Army might provide an excellent example of Evangelical activity, and the secular counterpart of their Hostel work would obviously be the Government Reception Centres.
I made initial enquiries about local Reception Centres, and arranged an informal discussion with a local S.A.Officer.
From this discussion, another hostel was put forward as more likely to be co-operative than the one in the immediate vicinity. This too was geographically closer to the nearest Reception Centre. If I was to envisage the same style of involvement, then nearness was one factor that needed to be borne in mind.

Concurrently with these arrangements, I began arranging another day visit to the other Branch House of the Sisters to fill out the picture of the Community's overall work.
I also wrote to the S.A.Hostel Manager for an appointment.

Sept. 8th.

The Social Services Section had now reached the interview stage, and I did the first taped interview with the male N.A. These interviews were to follow a prepared schedule, but would be open to prompting from me if material was not forthcoming.

End of Sept

Spent Day with Sisters at other house.

Sept.

Interviewed female N.A. in the office.

Sept. 24th.

Visited S.A. for initial discussions. These were helpful from the point of view of general information with regard to the S.A. but were raising doubts about the suitability for the main research intervention.

Sept. 30th.

Re-visited other house to interview a Sister who had moved there from the original centre for my research.

I was experiencing some difficulties during this time maintaining contact with the Sisters as planned - due to holidays, retreats and general changeovers.

I was also maintaining looser contact with the Social Services - and was preparing to phase out after the other interviews were completed.

Oct.18th

Interviewed V.H.O. at my home.

Oct.28th

Interviewed W.A. in office.

	Eventually I managed to arrange to interview the remaining Sisters.
Nov.12th	Interviewed Superior and one other Sister. Although the next two Sisters agreed to a date, this was altered by them.
Nov.25th	Finally, did get to interview another two Sisters. With the exception of the one elderly Sister who was ill, who I did not plan to interview, there was only one left for me to see.
Dec.18th	Final interview at Sisters.
	Although the completion of the interviews terminated my formal contact with both groups I still saw both occasionally - often as casual visits when I was passing.
Sept. - Dec .	Also involved in transcribing the tapes as they were completed.
Jan. - Feb. 1977	Began a preliminary analysis of the empirical data to date. This was facilitated by the T.N's already written - these were expanded to Memo's. I also categorised the data into five major groupings with sub-divisions - (I) Professional v. Amateur (This category was changed for the Sisters to Statutory v. Voluntary, while the other four groupings were the same), (II) Ideology v. Practice, (III) Organizational Context, (IV) Worker Relationships and (V) Clients. I also listed the work tasks of the four non-qualified staff in the Social Services.
	What clearly emerged from this was a need to explore the category of work - therefore I turned to look at some of the literature on work. Wrote Chapter on Perceptions of Work (using data from the first two empirical groups).
March	Submitted this Chapter and an Outline to obtain conversion to Ph.D.
March	Through a personal contact also working in the field of the Single Homeless, it was suggested that I look at the provision in another City. Historically this was well-provided with a range of facilities for the single homeless, including a Reception Centre and Salvation Army Hostel. Although the distance was a potential problem, this was not such a significant factor as I was beginning to see that my style of access needed to alter.
March - April	Initiated contacts with both the Reception Centre and the Salvation Army. Although the first met with full co-operation and official blessing was obtained, the latter ran into many problems. There was a personal unwillingness to be involved on the part of the Hostel Manager, although official blessing had been received.
April 24th.	Visited the City for exploratory discussions. Met total refusal at the S.A., but was referred to neighbouring town. Did have tour of building though. Difficulties were also raised at the Reception

Centre, in the shape of the Unions. The Manager, himself, was willing but he envisaged problems with the staff.
I made contact with the alternative Hostel the next day, and met with far more co-operation.

However, it became abundantly clear that the method I had adopted in the first two groups, namely

(a) entry and familiarisation with the organisational context;
(b) observation of the work by participation in the day to day routine as far as possible;
(c) informal discussion of attitudes (simultaneously with b);
(d) breakdown and study of referrals - particularly in regard to source;
(e) taped interviews with individuals under study;

was not a practical proposition.
The nature of the information that I was looking for was also different given the residential and more institutional context of the second pair of groups. The structure in terms of staff placed the emphasis on a few individuals in charge.
I therefore negotiated in each instance, for a tour of the physical buildings, and discussion with the Manager.

May — Finalised details of next visit to both Reception Centre and S.A.Hostel.

May 11th - 12th. — Interview with Reception Centre Manager - I had toured the building on my initial visit.
Spent morning with S.A.Manager, seeing around the building and discussing with him.
Neither interviews were formalised as with the previous groups, but I had prepared a list of areas on which I was interested in information.
I also left a Diary to be kept by the S.A.Manager. I had been unable to obtain this from the Reception Centre Manager, who felt that the appropriate equivalent was his E.O. who would not wish to do such an exercise. He had tried to provide some information on the form of outlining a typical day for the E.O.

May 24th — Collected Diary and had further discussion with Manager, at Hostel.

<u>This completed the empirical work.</u>

June 1977 — Wrote Chapter on Social Service and Client Groups utilising the data from all four groups.

Began turning to various areas of the literature e.g.,
- sociology of religion, in particular to typologies of sect and church
- literature on vocation
- social work theory
- Salvation Army

August - October 1977	Pregnant and in Hospital
October 16th	Dominic Born !
Feb.1978 - Oct. 1979	Looking after Dominic and writing up the rest of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: MAKING SENSE OF THE LITERATURE

Prologue

It is at this point traditionally that researchers offer their readers a review of 'the literature'. In this they either attempt or pretend to run through all the relevant body of literature to which their research is related. This, for most, is in fact an impossible task, which becomes necessarily modified in practice. It is provided both to display the researcher's acquaintance and critique of the work of others in the same field, and to provide a necessary background context in which to set the new work.

However, I wish to argue that given the particular methodology which I adopted such a survey of 'the literature' prior to any empirical work being carried out was totally inappropriate and is therefore inappropriate in this chapter. I, it should be remembered, had adopted a stance throughout the research which expected the theory to be generated from the empirical data. I had to therefore write in relation to this stance and this is what I have done. I am not writing about theory for example, but writing in such a form that reflects the vital link between content and methods. As I began to suggest in Chapter One - form, content and method must be integrated in such a way as to highlight the intrinsic relationship that should exist between them. The aim of the research was to understand the institutions observed, and the experience of those working within them, rather than to demonstrate relationship between abstractly defined variables or to verify existing theory. The emphasis of the research was on how people make sense of their experience - the experience of doing social work within a religious or non-religious setting, and how this affects the clients.

Having rejected the models of the past, it is therefore essential that I convey to the reader just how I utilised other literature, demonstrating not only why this approach was necessary but that it is <u>the</u> logical and right way to treat literature. This is what this

Chapter sets out to do. Having explained the circumstances which led me to adopt a 'quarrying' technique amongst the vast range of literature available in the multitude of disciplines into which the empirical data led me, I will go on to look at the differences and similarities between these various strands. This will involve looking in some depth at the examples of organisational studies and the theology of Vatican II - just two of those major strands within the literature, with which I was concerned.

How I related to other literature

The research had originated from an interest in the involvement of various denominations in the field of social work - the reasons why they were involved and whether there was any intrinsic difference between church-based social work and that practised under 'secular' auspices. I was therefore prepared for a certain diversity within the scope of my final bibliography, given the religious elements as well as the purely social work ones. However, this diversity was to become even greater. An example illustrates the problem - Before I started the empirical work, I had looked at areas of literature around the historical development of social work, relationship of church and state, theological model of "servant" and community. Then, having carried out the first half of the study (namely with theSisters and the Social Services group), I realised that what I was in fact researching was the category of 'work'. This in turn led me to look at the sociology of work and professions in relationship to this data. I had entered a field that had not initially appeared relevant - now I found it central to my thesis. This was a pattern which was to be repeated.

Before I continue to explain how I dealt with this problem, it is perhaps useful to look at why it arose.

The overall methodological approach allowed that the data "threw up" its own categories of interest, but here lies the root of the problem - the enormity and impossibility of the task of 'surveying' the literature.

There was no one discrete body of knowledge that covered the area I was studying, given the way that I was studying it. The way that I perceived the world through the data, was not the way in which it is usually presented in the literature. There the world becomes divided up into separate disciplines or traditions, and these normally remain separate. These same divisions, however, were not reflected in my data. It could not be just that I had chosen particularly remote or abstruse subject matter, for the interface of religious organisations and social work in society is quite commonplace.

The result was formidable - in the absenceof 'a' literature I was forced to examine no less than twelve separate disciplines (see p. 2.10).

The approach I had adopted - of allowing the data to reveal the appropriate areas of study rather than imposing preconceived dimensions on what I observed - revealed that such separation of the various disciplines was not in keeping with the real world. It was thus theoretically wrong and demonstrably impossible in methodological terms. My methodology indicated that these disciplines were connected, and needed to be viewed in that way in relation to the research. But here lay a major problem.

It is accepted academically that such strands are separate. For example in Universities you find separate departments relating, for example to theology, to social work, to sociology,located oftenin different buildings and with little or no connection between them. In the library each of these 'areas of reality' have separate catalogue numbers, often located on different floors.

Not only is this separation maintained at inter-departmental level, but also at an intra-departmental level too. Take the discipline of sociology - within this exists a variety of different areas of interest, each with a different literature.

It is only at the widest level of the 'sociological greats' that such diverse theories come together. That is, it is only at the level of Weber, Marx, Durkheim, for example, that one sees a unity amongst the various

sub-disciplines. Thus there was little at a theoretical level that I could draw on, which was appropriate to those I studied, for those 'sociological greats' were not concerned with the sections of society in which I was interested, in the way that I was interested in them. If I could have turned to established sources for my theory, my whole methodology would have been entirely different.

As is to be expected, Glaser & Strauss also deal with this problem. Once more they disabuse their readers of the false assumption that our 'great men' forefathers have generated

> "a sufficient number of outstanding theories on enough areas of social life to last for a long while."

They go on

> "In the face of this prevalent attitude, we contend, however, that the masters have not provided enough theories to cover all the areas of social life that sociologists have only begun to explore. Further, some theories of our predecessors, because of their lack of grounding in data, do not fit, or do not work, or are not sufficiently understandable to be used and are therefore useless in research, theoretical advance and practical application. On the other hand, the great theorists have indeed given us models and guidelines for generating theory, so that with recent advances in data collection, conceptual systematization and analytic procedures, many of us can follow in their paths: from social research we can generate theories for new areas, as well as better theories for areas where previous ones do not work."

They conclude with this word of encouragement

> "We contend also that it does not take a "genius" to generate a useful grounded theory."
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 10/11)

Their very use of the term 'grounded' is significant here.

> "We use the word grounded here to underline the point that the formal theory we are talking about must be contrasted with "grand" theory that is generated from logical assumptions and speculations about the "oughts" of social life."
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 34/5)

In fact the disparateness of most previous work made it very difficult to even simply describe what was actually there. Time wise and indeed intellectually it was an

impossible task to cover all the literature available in each of those disciplines, which had emerged out of the reality of the data. I had therefore to approach what literature was necessary from a very different perspective than usual.

Instead of the normative method of exhaustive surveying of 'the literature', I 'quarried' in those areas of interest as they arose. Inevitably this approach brings with it the danger of missing something which may be highly relevant- but this has to be set against the problem highlighted right at the beginning, namely the enormity of the task, which makes any other method impossible. Not only was exhaustive surveying impossible but as I have already suggested it was inappropriate.

'Quarrying' or delving discriminatingly and inevitably somewhat piecemeal into whole areas of knowledge, reflected in its own way the dynamism that is behind the whole methodological approach. I would 'discover' one source - this would lead either by direct reference or bibliography to new sources and a new range of ideas. This sometimes suggested that concepts from one tradition could appropriately be used to explain what I had observed in an apparently different area.

> "As the sociologist uses standard sociological concepts, he soon discovers that they usually become very differently defined, dimensioned, specified, or typed. Typical boundaries of the standard concept become broken. Furthermore, the boundaries of the established battery of sociological concepts are also broken. As he discovers new categories, the sociologist realizes how few kinds of behaviour can be coped with by many of our concepts, and recognizes the need to develop more concepts by straying out of traditional research areas into the multitude of substantive unknowns of social life that never have been touched ...."
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 37/8)

Traditional boundaries were meaningless and at worst a hindrance to understanding those studied.

This approach to literature is lucidly described by Glaser & Strauss, and it is worth looking in some detail at what they contribute to the debate on the use of library data in research and to the methods to be adopted. They

advocate very strongly that the library should be viewed as an enormously rich source of comparative material, and that it should be tackled in the same way that a researcher approaches the field. The books become his respondents.

> "The researcher needs only to discover the voices in the library to release them for his analytic use. We say 'discover' because, like field work, social research in the library must be directed with intelligence and ingenuity. Of course, in either the field or the library, the researcher may be lucky enough to stumble on conversations and scenes. These happy accidents are an invaluable addition to his data, especially if he knows what to do with them."
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 163)

From this it follows that I have quoted rather more extensively than is usual from the literature,rather than just providing paraphrased summaries of what others have said. I have treated them as empirical data, just like my own field notes and the taped interview transcripts.

Glaser & Strauss stress that in the library the researcher should use <u>any</u> materials which have a bearing on his area. Occasionally he finds a 'cache' of material - a whole grouping of relevant material. For me an example of this was the finding of a set of Sociology of Religion Yearbooks.

One aspect of their comments on using the library that I consider of particular importance is a section entitled "The Discovery of Accidents" and I quote

> "Because the generation of theory directs so firmly the search for, and analysis of, library data, we must not suppose that fortunate circumstances plays a lesser role than it does in field research. As we have implied in preceding pages, the library researcher cannot help but stumble upon useful comparative data. He is checking through the Readers' Guide on one topic, when happily his eye lights on another relevant topic about which he never thought - or he wonders about an article with an intriguing title, and in checking it finds marvellously rich data. He ransacks books strung along several shelves, and not only finds useful books he could never find through the catalog but also finds books - perhaps even more useful - either as he walks towards those shelves or allows himself to browse through books on neighbouring shelves. Or after reading a magazine article he has tracked down, he allows himself sufficient time to rifle through the remainder of the magazine."

They continue

> "We use the word 'allow' because while some happy accidents are completely fortuitous, others are promoted by the researcher. Indeed, unless tactics for maximising accidents are not worked out, the researcher must rely wholly on chance. While chance is a powerful goddess, it is wise not to rely solely upon her powers."
> (My underlining) (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 174)

And they were "tactics for maximising accidents" that I did adopt.

There is one word that also springs to my mind as I write this - and that is the word 'serendipity' defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as "The faculty of making happy and unexpected discoveries by accident". Isn't this just what the researcher needs to consciously promote?

The bibliography at the end of this thesis demonstrates more clearly than any description the range of material into which I was led in the library. I would like to stress too at this point that even 'popular' literature has a role, exampled particularly in the Roman Catholic context by paperbacks about the Religious Life, and Peter Hebblethwaite's latest book 'The Year of the Three Popes' (1978). The 'classics' also can be another rich source of material, for example Herman Hesse's 'The Glass Bead Game' (1970) on vocation. Glaser & Strauss (1967, 170) support the use of such material by suggesting that their role is to stimulate the generation of categories, and therefore one does not have to be concerned with the accuracy of the novelist's perceptions. I also had ready access to current social work magazines, like Community Care; Open University Course material and broadcasts relating to the Social Sciences and Social Work; and a weekly Catholic Newspaper.

I think that it should be noted that this process - which I had been forced to adopt and develop - turned out to be both stimulating and challenging. It necessitated a bridging of disciplines previously unlinked and at times intellectual leaps from one area to another. The evidence that such bridges should be built was there before me in the data.

> "In field work, however, general relations are often discovered in vivo; that is, the field worker literally sees them occur. This aspect of the 'real life' character of field work deserves emphasis, for it is an important dividend in generating theory."
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 40)

Thus what held all these different strands together was the research, or perhaps more accurately me and the research. That link up cannot be made purely intellectually but needs 'the real world' to enable it to happen. I am therefore not only describing and explaining the approach I took, but I am also suggesting that this is both the way it does and should happen in other research. Obviously other researchers have found the same thing happening - but they have not chosen to deal with it in the same way that I have. They have not written either about the problem or the literature in this way, but have continued to seek refuge in conventional approaches.

Another dimension which has not been stressed sufficiently so far is the timing of such 'quarrying' in the literature. A researcher can turn to the library for several purposes - he can see it as a useful source of background material; he can use it tosearch for existing theories - both substantive and formal - which might aid his own generation of theory; he can use it to 'pinpoint' - a technique utilised by Strauss et al. in 'Psychiatric Ideologies & Institutions' (1964) for checking on various points by direct referral to the literature in an attempt to confirm or saturate the categories already developed; and he can see it as a rich source of comparative data in its own right. Self-evidently the timing varies with the purpose.

Apart from background reading, the majority of my 'reading' took place either during or following my field work. The examples given later in the chapter demonstrate quite clearly that it was the empirical data which directed my reading.

It is a familiar idea that one book often leads the researcher to another and so on, but while I was pursuing this line I was <u>also</u> doing empirical work. This empirical work also leads on to books.

The other factor which is involved here is the role of existing theory. Like Glaser & Strauss I placed the premium on 'emergent conceptualizations' rather than 'borrowed categories' from existing theory. This stance necessarily affects one's approach to literature.

> "Working with borrowed categories is more difficult since they are harder to find, fewer in number, and not as rich; since in the long run they may not be relevant, and are not exactly designed for the purpose, they must be respecified. In short, our focus on the emergence of categories solves the problems of fit, relevance, forcing and richness. <u>An effective strategy is, at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study</u>, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas. Similarities and convergences with the literature can be established after the analytic core of categories has emerged."
>
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 37)

A final word in this connection is related to the role of insight, particularly in relation to the researcher's use of existing theory. If we turn once more to a Discovery of Grounded Theory, Glaser & Strauss feel that potential insights can often be stifled by too strict an adherence to existing theory, particularly 'grand theory'.

> "Nevertheless, no sociologist can possibly erase from his mind all the theory he knows before he begins his research. Indeed the trick is to line up what one takes as theoretically possible or probable with what one is finding in the field. Such existing sources of insights are to be cultivated, though not at the expense of insights generated by the qualitative research, which are still closer to the data. A combination of both is definitely desirable.
>
> Some men seem to handle the precarious balance between the two sources by avoiding the reading of much thatrelates to the relevant area until after they return from the field; they do this so as not to interfere with personal insights. On the other hand, some read extensively beforehand. Others periodically return to one or other source for stimulation. There is no ready formula, of course: one can only experiment to find which style of work gives the best results. Not to experiment toward this end, but carefully to cover "all" the literature before commencing

> research, increases the probability of brutally destorting one's potentialities as a theorist."
> (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 253)

I have repeatedly referred to the wide number of disparate disciplines into which I was drawn by the empirical data - but what exactly were these strands of literature and how varied were they.

<u>Major Strands in the Literature Related to the Research.</u>

Theology
Sociology of Religion
History of Religious Institutions
Theories of Welfare
Social Administration
Social Work Studies
History of Social Work
Organisational Studies
Community Studies
Sociology of Industry
Occupational Studies
Feminism
Deviancy Studies

This is a daunting list to most researchers, who of necessity have more experience in some areas rather than others. The difficulties that this raised cannot be minimised, nor the obvious impossibility of undertaking a 'review' of all the relevant literature disputed.

The next task is to explore more fully the relationship between these strands, stressing in particular their differences. It is self-evident that the list is both diverse and long. The differences stem from two sources - the first centres round the question of where they come from, the second from the question of what they are.

Each discipline has a different genesis, a different conception of point of origin. In other words they have a different epistemology. This inevitably leads to differences between them and to the consequent problems of studying them simultaneously. Each discipline equally obviously contained a different body of knowledge, with its own characteristic approach and emphasis. The real problem however lies in the

fact that each discipline had come from a different place, constructed for different reasons, and often those reasons were very different from the circumstances which had led me to look into such disciplines.

Given the magnitude of the list it seems sensible to look at certain examples and examine them in some detail. This should re-emphasise the point made earlier - that it was not a case of 'the literature' that was waiting to be surveyed.

Two Examples of These Strands.

(1) Organisational Studies

This area arose spontaneously from the research, and had certainly not been anticipated. When I began the research I was interested in the experience of people providing a social work service. A preliminary analysis of the data from the Sisters and the Social Service employees made me realise that what I was looking at was people engaging in work. A further step from this was the recognition that such work was being carried out in organisations. The way in which the workers operated and thus the service they could and did offer to their clients was considerably affected by the organisational background of their work. This opened up a Pandora's Box - so much has been written in the area of a sociology of work, occupational studies and organisational theory.

But before I go on to discuss which books I turned to and why, the actual purpose of including any references here needs some explanation.

The references given in this chapter are those from which I have drawn most and made reference to in subsequent chapters. It in no way represents the total bibliography read by me during the course of the research. The latter was so large as to be unmanageable in the context of this chapter, as well as inappropriate. It is however provided at the end of the thesis. It should be understood that the purpose of presenting this particular literature here and in subsequent Chapters is to provide the reader with an understanding of the books which self-consciously informed my research. The point is not to demonstrate the breadth of my knowledge but to demonstrate how the research evolved.

Firstly, the references can illuminate the actual research process and secondly, they direct the reader to pieces of work that substantiate and enlarge on certain aspects of the data. In a thesis this should be the rationale for mentioning any literature. What is given here is the form, the content is to be found in the empirical sections

Remembering that I was drawn to each strand of literature by the empirical data, and of necessity was only 'quarrying' amongst the available material, it underlines the impossibility of a purely intellectual bridging of the strands. What was needed was the core of empirical data to provide a guide, and an underlying rationale for such bridging. I was looking to the literature, (to which I had in turn been directed by the data,) to stimulate further analysis and extension of the theory being generated from the empirical work.

Returning to the specific example of organisational studies, the following are a list of the main sources I consulted in relation to this particular sub-discipline.

Organisational Analysis - C. Perrow (1970)
The Theory of Social & Economic Organization - Weber (1947)
Social Services Departments - Brunel Institute of Organization & Social Services (1974)
'Identifying Team Functional Roles and Specializations' - Briggs (1973)
Formal Organizations - Blau & Scott (1963)
The Dynamics of Bureaucracy - Blau (1966)
A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organisations - Etzioni (1975)
The Sociology of Organisations - Bowey (1976)
The Necessity for Team Practice in Social Work - A Case Study - Baker (Unpublished 1977)
An Open Case - Warham (1977)

Having looked at these books much of the material was discounted, for I found it inappropriate. This provides a prime example that a more extensive literature would be of even less use. The understanding that I was seeking was not it appeared going to be gleaned directly from organisational literature. But before dismissing these books, how did I find myself referring to them in the first place? How did they come to be related to a thesis on the relationship of the church and social work?

As I said at the beginning of this section, I was drawn into the field of organisational studies by the fact that suddenly the organisational context of my different groups of workers became very important. This was a factor that I had not consciously anticipated but was clearly shown by the data to be of relevance to understanding what and how people were providing their social work services.

But we need to reflect on where such organisational studies originated. Their aetiology and primary development has been within the various Business and Management Schools. The 'imperative' from which they were written was related to the problems of middle management and to running business organisations better. Although they have recently been imported into theories of corporate management, and thus management within Social Services Departments, they are still unrelated to the group of employees which I was studying. Thus, although I was clearly interested in bureaucracy as one organisational form present to some degree in all those groups under observation, none of the literature was written from exactly the vantage point in which I was interested. This was equally true whether it was to Weber, Blau & Scott or the Brunel Study that I turned. I was constrained by what was available. This was equally true of the concept of 'community'-which appeared to be the most obvious contrasting form of organisation.

One of the organisations I was studying actually called itself a community. It could be viewed as an organisation and as a community. These were obviously very different ways of looking at the same thing. The empirical data suggested a logical relationship and analysis between bureaucracy and community, but this inevitably straddled two disparate traditions. I was back to bridging gaps again. Immediately I was faced with a problem. Were traditional organisational studies able to encompass this type - apparently not usually considered in this context? Perrow's approach to organisational analysis (1970) certainly seemed to

suggest that it was possible, even if it had not yet been attempted. I had found myself in an undocumented area. The material for this concept of community took me into yet another area - acommunity studies. This explains why the books consulted in relation to this area are not listed above.

There was obviously a wealth of material in relation to organisational and community studies on which I could draw at this point, but I have earlier suggested that this had limited use. The material which I found relevant enough to include within Chapter Seven is described in content in that chapter rather than here. Here the purpose is simply to indicate how I dealt with the literature in that chapter, and in all other chapters.

There were two other books concerned specifically with social organisation in the church (The Crucible of Change - Greeley, 1968) and one on ecclesiastical administration (Ministry & Management - Rudge, 1968) that I also read in this context.

I was faced not only with dealing with the immediate organisational context of the workers but with that of the total organisation of which they formed a part, for example the Sisters clearly formed a community but were in turn part of a large hierarchically defined bureaucracy, the Roman Catholic Church.

'Professional' was another term which was to emerge from the data, and I turned to the accepted references on the subject - again a related but often separate area within sociology. These included the standard text in the field - Johnson's 'Professions and Power' (1972). Unfortunately this proved, although acknowledged as one of the best works in the field, to be of little use to me. The context in which the idea of profession had arisen from the data was almost the negative side of the issue - what was happening to those who were not deemed to be professionals in an area which is constantly striving to become 'a profession'? Social work has suffered from this tension since the war in particular, but it seemed that no one has really addressed the problem from the point of view of those groups of workers in whom I was interested. Yet one more lacuna in the literature. Once

more it was the <u>way</u> in which I approached the idea of professionalism - as directed by my findings in the empirical work - that had highlighted the problem.

Of those books I consulted, Briggs (1973) was addressing the specific problems of organisational roles within a given structure and the consequent assignment of tasks. This was clearly a significant issue within the Social Services Department - most particularly for those workers whom I was studying who were not allotted professional status.

Further insights were provided into the concept of bureaucracy by Warham (1977), with the latter's book specifically addressed to the context of social work. Overall typologies were to be found, for example in Blau & Scott (1963) and Etzioni (1975), along with the specifically ecclesiastical attempt in Rudge (1968). Unfortunately as I suggested earlier, none of these were able in themselves to improve my understanding of the observable differences in the groups. I would have to look elsewhere.

What sense can we make of this? The form in which I am presenting literature would appear to be correct, for it would be insane to provide a massive literature just to reject it. Therefore the way in which I worked with the literature is also correct. In this particular example organisation proved to be of prime importance to my understanding and to the conclusions, but organisational studies themselves were inadequate. From this it follows that ideas about organisation have come rather from other literature, as can be seen when reading Chapter Seven.

(ii) <u>Theology of Vatican II</u>

The second example that I propose to take from the list of major disciplines encountered during the research is that of the theology of Vatican II. This example most readily springs to mind given that for at least half those studied their lives were dominatedby something other than sociology - that is theology. This then provides an example on the theological side of the research. It also serves to highlight most effectively

the very disparate nature of these two sides- the religious and the secular disciplines.

The most obvious source for this theology is in the transcription of the actual documents of the Second Vatican Council. I used an American publication edited by a Jesuit, W.M.Abbott (1966). For analysis I turned to Peter Hebblethwaite's book 'The Runaway Church' (1975). This could be criticised by theologians as being too 'lightweight.' My response is that I do not pretend to be a theologian and was therefore not competent to become too deeply embroiled in the deeper theological arguments that have attended the results of the Council. I needed an interpretation more suited to the layman. Also, those I studied were not theologians either, and their perception of the impact of theological changes relating to the Council were in rather pragmatic and unsophisticated terms. Like the meta-theoretical level of the sociological founding fathers, this level of 'grand theory' would not in any event offer me the analysis for which I was searching.

But why this focus on Vatican II? Firstly, this was to be expected given the impact on the Church of this particular council and the many changes which ensued as a result. Secondly, this impression was justified by my respondents (the Sisters) who constantly referred to Vatican II as the major source of change within their lifestyle and beliefs.

However Vatican II did not occur in a vacuum - it was preceded by a series of papal social encyclicals. I used 'The Social Teachings of the Church' ed. A.Freemantle (1963) as the authority. Further reference to both these issues, the social encyclicals and Vatican II, was central to a recently published text 'Catholics and the Welfare State' by Coman (1977). The latter was published during the course of my research, and having read the review in a Catholic Newspaper, seemed essential reading.

This particular group of workers held a distinct identity, that of 'nuns' - or more accurately in canonical terms 'Sisters'. Two publications to which I referred on

this subject were 'Nuns' by M. Bernstein, (1978) and 'The New Nuns' ed. Sr.Charles Borromeo (1968). Although useful in many ways, these were not approaching their subject in anything like the same way as I was. I was studying the Sisters from the point of view of workers in a particular kind of organisational structure providing an alternative to state social work provision.

Consulting the back issues of The Sociological Yearbook of Religion I came across an article by Kokosalakis - "Aspects of Conflict between the Structure of Authority and the Beliefs of the Laity in the Roman Catholic Church" (1971) - this pertained exactly to the results as experienced at parish level of Vatican II. I subsequently referred to the original Ph.D Thesis (1969) from which this article was taken, but its primary focus was directed towards ecumenism, and did not therefore contribute to my own research.

These references are obviously very different from that of the other example - organisational studies - cited above. They came from entirely different disciplines yet were related in the context of my research. It is therefore to a deeper discussion of those differences between the various strands that I now turn.

<u>Discussion of the Differences between the Strands</u>

As I indicated earlier they came from different backgrounds self-evidently, and they also came from different 'imperatives', i.e., they were the result of entirely differing sets of pressures.

Organisational analysis has in many ways developed as the product of management studies and the functional requirements of ensuring greater efficiency and productivity, often in the field of industry and commerce. It has only of late been 'borrowed' to help understand and improve the service industries. It stems from the interest in 'scientific management' versus 'human relations models' that gave the impetus to this whole area of sociology.

On the other hand the theology of Vatican II can be both attributed to Divine sources, interpreted by men, and to the results of the very human pressures of a large

organisation faced with the problem of relating their 'dogma' to everyday existence. Nothing could be further apart in 'imperatives' than these two strands! One is firmly rooted in the natural world, the other spans the supernatural and the natural.

Despite this incredible diversity which exists between the strands, they still all reflect a little of that particular reality which I examined. This is the central justification for their inclusion.

Discussion of the Similarities

Having stressed their diversity, does anything unite these strands? Obviously, yes, in three notable ways.

Clearly these strands are directly related by the very fact that I came across this unity in my data. For example, as we have seen, my 'community' was also an 'organisation', which was held together by certain theological beliefs. Yet they were also involved in the issues of welfare and social work provision. First and foremost, therefore, parts of each strand were reflected in the empirical data.

Secondly, one can recognise that they are all applied knowledge, i.e., they have all been constructed in order to be applied. Albeit they have been constructed by different institutions at different times as a result of differing pressures, nevertheless they are united in their potential application. Occupational Studies were to be applied in the whole realm of work, deviancy studies were focussed on certain areas of society in an attempt to explain and understand what was happening in relation to crime, mental illness etc., the list is endless. These strands were designed to have practical applications, to provide a theoretical basis which could inform practice in the real world.

What is more, they have all been applied; indeed, applied within the empirical areas of my research. Again an example, from the field of organisation theory we have seen the ideas of corporate managementemerge, which have in turn been applied to the administration of Social Services Departments. These strands have provided the blue

prints for society, they are not just idle knowledge. People do take notice of them, and consciously strive to operate within them. This means that they will inevitably be linked to the kind of research I have undertaken. They are very much a part of the reality that I was exploring.

I was looking at literature and at particular empirical areas, and the latter were in part shaped by that very literature.

From this it inevitably follows, that the way in which I have utilised and written about the literature is necessarily very different than if all the strands were entirely separate. Each strand can be seen as dovetailing into a particular aspect of reality, and just as that reality is united in its essence so then is the literature. One strand flows into another, sometimes in recognised patterns - one expects to link organisational theory, occupational studies, the sociology of industry - and sometimes in unexpected and new ways - community studies and organisational studies are not usually linked.

Conclusion

Unlike many conventional 'literature' chapters I have not written about the literature in terms of ideas, in terms of content, but in terms of how I utilised the literature. The various separate disciplines form strands that can be seen both as different and yet still retaining certain similarities. I have attempted to describe to the reader the very construction of the thesis - how the empirical data revealed which strands should be consulted and indicated in many instances a new way of relating normally disparate bodies of knowledge. This particular methodology led to a technique of 'quarrying' amongst the literature, for a conventional survey was an impossibility. This 'quarrying' was the result too of only parts of each strand being relevant - just as specific situations in the real world only reflect certain aspects of it, not a comprehensive totality.

The disparity of the strands raised many problems, not least the necessity of understanding the different

imperatives from which each developed. Nowhere could this disparity have been greater than in a field which spanned the religious and the secular.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with the tools by which the intellectual arguments of the thesis can be followed and more clearly understood. It also serves as an example to assist the reader with understanding the relationship in every other chapter between literature, empirical data and theory. It is therefore not concerned with the content of any books, even the selected few referred to, but with how the literature was utilised and why. Reference to the content and any critique of that is to be found in the actual body of the test, as and when it is related to the empirical work. This approach is intrinsic to the very methodology, as this chapter has attempted to make clear.

SECTION B

Introduction to Section B

Having set the scene in Section A, with the introduction of the topic and a discussion of the methodology, Section B turns to the empirical material and provides the first of the two main empirical Sections.

Chapter Three is concerned with the historical development of the four institutions involved, namely the Roman Catholic Church, the Salvation Army, the Personal Social Services and Government Provision for the Single Homeless - the Reception Centres. These descriptive sub-sections are then followed by an historical analysis of the relationship of church and state, with reference to the work of others in this area. Finally, the four groups are set in relationship to theWelfare State. I have particularly focussed, within the four sub-sections, on the origins of social work and the particular theories which accompanied the development of social work involvement in both the religious and the secular field. Inevitably they cannot provide exhaustive histories, but they can help to make sense of the modern day situation by tracing the development of thought within these institutions.

Chapter Four focusses on the other structural way of making sense of institutions, that of ideology. Just as Chapter Three was concerned with history as structure, now attention is drawn to ideology as structure - or the way in which it structures the world. Within this chapter, having introduced the concept of ideology, particularly in relation to practice, the contemporary role of the church in the 'welfare state' is considered. Next, the sociological distinction between church and sect is briefly explored, and the similarities between the religious order and the sect are examined in the light of the empirical data collected in respect of two of the groups. The rest of the chapter is devoted to five separate ideological points which were either, like the concept of vocation, expected to influence the workers within the institutions studied, or emerged during the research as central issues - as did the attitude to the family, to death and dying and the importance of external symbols such as dress. Lastly, an examination of the concept of genericism within Social Services Departments

and the Sisters provides an illustration of just how ideology can become distorted in the process of becoming practice.

Chapter Four thus draws both on the empirical data available within the literature and within the data collected by me. Like Chapter Three, it provides the underpinnings for the next Section, which deals with the empirical material as related to three central themes - that of work, clients and organisation.

Section B should obviously be read in conjunction with Section C but, while both are concerned with the presentation of the empirical material of the research, they remain distinct in their emphasis and purpose.

CHAPTER THREE: THE HISTORICAL DETERMINANTS OF PRACTICE

"There's nothing so practical as a good theory" (Lupton in Bowey, 1974).

Within each discipline, be it theology or social work, there exists a body of theory which provides a basis and a guide for the practical execution of the work in which the respective organisations are involved. I feel however that the only relevant way to deal with this theory is to examine the way in which it meshes with the institutions that govern people's lives. It is therefore the institutions rather than the words of theory that are the focus of this chapter. In so doing I am adopting a materialist rather than an idealist approach to theory.

History structures the world and inevitably those institutions within it, the reader therefore needs to understand the historical development of the four institutions and the dynamic nature of their theory. The bulk of the chapter is then not about the relationships of the four groups but provides a very necessary back-ground to each. Unless the historical perspective is appreciated, the context in which my empirical data was collected will fail to be understood. We are, however, dealing with four very disparate groups, in terms of their history and theory. It has thus been unavoidable that they are dealt with separately, and at such comparative length.

These requirements have therefore made it both a difficult chapter to write, and in some ways to read. There is an enormous amount of information to be included, for each section could in fact form the basis of a thesis in its own right! I have deliberately chosen to refer extensively to the work of others in this field, for it was impossible for me to research these histories from primary sources myself, given the extent of the areas to be covered. These quotations, it should be recognisdd, are treated therefore as a further source of empirical data, as indeed they are in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Three thus examines four streams of development in the following order, theRoman Catholic Church, the Salvation Army, the Personal Social Services and Government Provision for the Single Homeless. It is also necessary to look at the historical relationship of Church and State as portrayed in the relationship between religion and social work. This section does not though attempt to relate the four institutions specifically, but rather provides an overview of how religion has and can contribute to social work provision. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief setting of the four groups within the context of the Welfare State.

The Roman Catholic Church

It should be stressed initially that theology is by no means static and as such it has to be viewed in its historical context. The theology of the Catholic Church has been radically altered by the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), and despite variations in the timing and implementation of its practical consequences it remains of key significance in any analysis of modern Catholic action.

Douglas Hubery in a privately circulated article 'Christian Theology and Community Development' stressed the dynamic nature of theology.

> "Theology itself should not be seen as a static discipline content with classical or atrophied intellectual dogmas standing the test of all time; it is as subject to changes in emphasis and interpretation as any other discipline."
> (Hubery, 1972)

From the earliest times the Church has been associated with a caring role. Heasman in her book 'Christians and Social Work' talks about the origins of social work in the past:

> "With the arrival of Christianity, the Church itself began to undertake the care of people in need."

She continues by quoting Troeltsch

> "It is the aim of the Church to give parental care to the orphan, to be a husband to the widow, to help those who are ready for marriage to make a home, to give work to the unemployed, to show practical compassion to those who cannot work, to give shelter to the stranger, food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, to see that the sick are visited, and that help is forth-coming to the prisoners.'"
> (Heasman, 1965, 20)

A Second Century Treatise, of great importance, called the Didache lays down the general principles of how this was to be done and emphasises that very careful investigation should be carried out before help was given. However, the latter attitude was disputed even at that time - for Niebuhr records that the Second Century Shepherd of Hermes enjoined indiscriminate charity saying

> "Give to all in simplicity without asking to whom to give. Those who take without real need must answer to God. But the giver is innocent in any event."
>
> (Niebuhr, 1932, 25)

By the Fourth Century it was the Deacons of theChurch who assumed responsibility for this work. (There is in fact a current attempt within the Church to revive the importance of the Diaconate for just such a role).

However, the point I wish to stress here is that the purpose of social work changed, as Heasman explains:

> "There had grown up, however, a changed conception of the purposes of social work. Instead of being regarded as a means of serving others, alms-giving and philanthropy began to be accepted for the remission of sins. This propitiatory value of charity is to be found in pre-Christian thought, but it was developed by the Early Fathers, and codified by St.Thomas Acquinas in the 13th Century. To clothe, to give drink to, to feed, to free from prison, to shelter, to assist in sickness and to bury those in need were the seven corporal acts which led to salvation. In return the recipient was expected to pray for the benefactor. Thus the practice of charity gradually became a means of spiritual insurance. This inward-looking attitude placed it in the category of good works, and it became a way by which indulgences could be earned. Although this was in itself an incentive to help the underprivileged, much of the love, which the churches had shown, was lost, and the desire to help another person for his own sake tended to be replaced by the desire to improve one's own spiritual condition."
>
> (Heasman, 1965, 23/24).

The Reformation in its strong condemnation of the abuse of indulgences did much to reverse this trend, but alongside this development was the very significant contribution made by Religious Orders.

Traditionally the Catholic Church in the guise of its Religious Orders has always been involved in serving people and their communities. This continuity stretches down through the ages from those founding fathers - St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Dominic and St.Francis to later saints such as St. Ignatious Loyala and St.Vincent de Paul, and numerous holy men and women who were the source of inspiration for their followers. Hospitals, education, care of the poor and aged - all owe much to the pioneering

spirit of the Church, in an age when there were few, if any, secular alternatives. The vast institutional charities of the Catholic Church are a direct heritage of the spirit of the Middle Ages. (Niebuhr 1932). Church and state were inextricably entwined and presented as a united front in the West until the time of the Reformation. The Christian duty to love one's neighbour (notwithstanding the 'spiritual insurance' aspect discussed above) was the source of much care and service and this has continued as secular state and voluntary alternatives have developed.

One could argue that during the present century there has been a decline in social work under specifically Christian auspices. However, a somewhat different position obtains with regard to the Catholic Church as I will examine more fully later in the section.

The Nineteenth Century saw the foundation of an increasing number of Religious Congregations and Communities spurred on by the poverty, sickness and deprivation of many people. In England, the Industrial Revolution, while introducing many dramatic changes, left in its wake the problems of urbanisation - inadequate housing, poor sanitation, overcrowding etc. For many of the poor (in whatever country they lived) sickness could mean disaster for a family, and it was specifically with the idea of caring for the sick poor in their own homes that one particular ReligiousCongregation was founded in France - later spreading to other countries including England. There was nothing new in the idea of women dedicating their lives to God in the service of their fellow men, but there were few examples of such service being taken to the people in their own homes. Institutional care had predominated. The Rule of Life of this Congregation spelt out the details of this particular Apostolic Mission, and it is members of one Community branch house who provide the Catholic Group studied.

Before moving on to consider an historical analysis of the Catholic Church in England, another issue needs to be raised: that of the role of women particularly in the Nineteenth Century. Writing of "'Surplus Women' in the Nineteenth Century" Deacon and Hill have this to say

> "It is clear that the female surplus in Victorian society - however inaccurately it may have been diagnosed by contemporaries - gave an enormous impetus to the early growth of the social service and nursing professions in the mid-nineteenth century and left its indelible trace on their subsequent growth. That influence can still be seen. The legacy of societal attitudes towards social work, for example, derived from its origins in the work of 'old maids' and 'parish women', may help to explain in part the relatively slower development of a consciousness of professional status among British social workers compared to their American counterparts. It is by examining the secular and religious alternatives which were available to the mid-Victorian woman who was seeking an autonomous role outside the middle-class family that some of these influences emerge most clearly."
>
> (Deacon & Hill, 1972, 100).

One alternative increasingly open to women was the Religious Life, and Michael Hill sees the newly created Sisterhoods of the Nineteenth Century providing an important link between old and new kinds of women's work - a compromise between traditional female role of service and drudgery and the 'newer more autonomous role of professional employee'.

> "In a very similar way the Anglican sisterhoods, and to a certain extent also the Roman Catholic orders of women, provided important transitional functions in the growth of secular nursing and female occupations generally."(Hill, 1973, 285)

While the Community in question was still under the ultimate control of the very male-dominated preserve of the Vatican Curia, they too undoubtedly contributed to the changing position of women in society.

But what of the position of the Catholic Church in England? It is the very composition of its membership (particularly in the 19th Century) that is so significant. Catholics formed a segregated minority, and it is their degree of separateness which led to provision almost exclusively for the benefit of group members. Historically this has been a common complaint levelled at the Catholic Church - 'looking after ones own'. A similar position is found amongst the Jewish Community in Britain - another immigrant religious minority. But what led to this separation? John Hickey inUrban Catholics (1967) and

Peter Coman in Catholics & the Welfare State (1977) have been of considerable assistance here.

The easiest way to answer this is to begin by asking who constituted the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century? There are three distinct groups which emerge - the 'old catholics', the converts and the Irish immigrants. The 'old catholics' were those families, largely of the aristocracy, who had remained faithful to the Church during the period of persecution in England that existed from the Act of Supremacy in 1559 under Elizabeth I until Catholic Emancipation in 1829. This was the period of Recusancy - or failure to attend Church of England services. By definition they tended to remain aloof and remote from their co-religionists. The converts from the Anglican Church who turned to Rome as a result of the Oxford Movement then current, brought with them unwelcome changes as far as the 'cradle' catholics were concerned. Their zeal for their new church led to more extremist views, and under their influence the Catholic Church in England became more Roman and more Italian than before. (Also as Coman (1977) points out most of the leading hierarchy had been educated in the English College in Rome and introduced a peculiarly Roman flavour to Catholicism in England.) Such notable converts as Manning and Newman were also seen to receive more favour and respect than the 'old catholics', particularly under Wiseman. However, it is the third group, the Irish, who perhaps are the most significant element both in terms of numbers and their lack of involvement in social and political reform. Irish history itself plays a considerable part in the development of English Catholicism - being responsible for both Emancipation in 1829 and the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850. Briefly, Daniel O'Connell ran for Parliament as a Member for Clare (Ireland) however, even though technically winning the election, as a Catholic he could not take up his seat. To avoid the pressure of public opinion amongst the Irish - a group growing in significance, the long awaited emancipation of Catholics in England was

passed by Parliament in 1829. The increasing numbers of Irish within England also made it imperative that the Catholic Church was seen to have a clearly established position within the wider ecclesiastical structure. Therefore in 1850 Cardinal Wiseman, himself of Irish descent, was appointed Archbishop of Westminster and Metropolitan of the English Province, with 12 suffragan bishops. The Restoration of the Hierarchy had occurred.

John Hickey has put forward the theory - in line with others studying immigrant minorities - that urban catholics formed a group which followed a similar pattern of development to other minorities (Cf. W. Herberg - 'Protestant, Catholic, Jew' (1960). It can be taken that urban catholics were synonymous with the Irish immigrants. Three stages are therefore postulated in the process of assimilation that such groups have to face:

1. "Stage of isolation which occurs when the first immigrants enter the new society. They feel themselves 'different' from everybody, they possess customs and traditions and a religion which mark them out as strangers, and their initial reaction is to withdraw in self-defence from contact with outsiders."

2. "Defensive isolation is being broken down and the old traditions are being replaced by those common to the larger society in which the group is situated." (This is perhaps where the Catholic Church in England is today).

3. "The descendants of immigrants become assimilated with their environment, retaining only one feature of their origin - in this case religion - to serve as a means of identity and 'social location'."
(Hickey, 1967, 165)

Opposition, and therefore isolation, was based largely on three grounds :- religious, social and national, and although the reasons for these grounds have now disappeared - the separation that they produced has become identified as an integral part of Catholic faith, that is not willingly relinquished. Assimilation is being forced on Catholic groups by the operation of social factors which are beyond their control. There is somewhat 'negative' evidence for this in the form that the old way of life is breaking up rather than that Catholics are making a conscious attempt to move out of their isolation. But with the advent of ecumenism this may be changing, I feel.

Another way of saying the same thing is that in England Catholics having been a persecuted, mainly immigrant, minority developed their own particular sub-culture and adopted a policy of segregation to preserve that culture intact.

One way in which the urban catholics could have become assimilated with their peers was in joining the social and political reform movements stemming from the working classes during the nineteenth century. For various reasons (national and political) they chose not to participate or sympathise in these movements and so brought further hostility down upon their heads - alienating the group even more from society, and ensuring that they did not share in the shaping of a vital part of working-class tradition and history. However they were not politically inactive in all spheres, but interest lay in their own causes - the Irish question and the struggle to preserve Catholic education. A somewhat insular attitude towards politics consequently developed with a Catholic regarding

> "his duty in politics as being restricted to achieving what is in the best interests of his own community"
>
> (Hickey, 1967, 147)

It is only notable exceptions, like Cardinal Manning, who valiantly strove to break out of this narrow approach and to involve their followers in the great social and political issues of their time. The old model of watching over 'Catholic interest' and self-consciously attempting to introduce 'Catholic principles' into politics held sway unfortunately for a long time. Their still remains a concentration of Catholic political effort in a very few areas - notably education and abortion. Nowhere is such a policy more noticeable than in relation to the Welfare State. Attempts nevertheless are being made to improve this situation.

If the urban catholics would not participate in social reform, neither did the other two groups. The 'old catholics' saw their concern for the new, poor catholics confined to helping their spiritual welfare - providing chapels and perhaps donations to private charity - but certainly no recognition of their real needs or any attempt

to improve their 'lot'. Hickey suggests

> "In nationality, social class, upbringing and outlook the two sections of the Church were quite different and it would have been too much to expect that either group would be conscious of the needs and aspirations of the other or that sufficiently close bonds could be established between them for them to work in harmony and understanding together."
>
> (Hickey, 1967, 31)

The 'old catholics' had a long tradition of non-involvement and memories of the persecution lingered on, influencing their behaviour. The converts too were isolated from both groups and most probably were too concerned with the theological issues and zeal for their new found Church, to spare time for social provision. They tended to come of a social class that was educated and adequately provided for. Like the 'cradle' catholics they could afford to be unconcerned with the pressing problems of urban life!

Moving now to the Twentieth Century, this issue of segregation and separate provision is seen again in the legislation of the Welfare State. Coman's 'Catholics and the Welfare State' refers to the work of Peter Berger as providing an excellent theoretical perspective of the process of attempted preservation of Catholic identity in modern secular society. This in turn helps us understand the Catholic response to the Welfare State.

Berger points to the danger of loss of members on the part of a minority religious group

> "through their conversion to the conflicting values of the wider society and their assimilation to the predominant secular society."
>
> (Coman, 1977, 4)

The very process outlined by Hickey, quoted above.

Peter Coman provides an excellent summary of the situation

> "In an important sense the Catholics in mid-twentieth-century England, preponderantly of Irish ancestry and origin, were members of a sub-society and constituted a subculture by virtue of their specific norms and values in sexual, marital and familial morality, their allegiance to Rome, the importance attached to the Mass, their belief in life after death and their numerous distinguishing symbols such as Friday abstinence. Catholic social teaching with its emphasis on church-based institutions,

> independent of the powerful modern state but transcending the individual, was consistent with the endeavour of English Catholics to develop 'subsocietal institutions' to preserve their subculture by segregating the young in educational terms through the maintenance of a separate denominational educational system. Similarly, group endogamy sought to provide an all-Catholic milieu within the family. Such educational segregation and marital endogamy in combination with an array of other Catholic associations, such as the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, were designed to protect the Catholic subculture, although in a modern urban industrial and secular society where Catholics participated in work situations with their non-Catholic compatriots the members of the Catholic subsociety could not of course be safeguarded from all wider secular influences."
>
> (Coman, 1977, 4/5)

Traditionally great stress was laid on the importance of the family, particularly in relation to early socialisation - this logically led to the subsequent importance of the school as an extension of such socialisation. These were two areas therefore where the Roman Catholic hierarchy sought to protect their people, especially the young,from a 'milieu which would undermine their faith' or

> "in Berger's terms, would endanger the continuing acceptance in their consciousness of the 'Catholic World' presented to them as the one true 'objective reality' in matters pertaining to faith and morality. TheRoman Catholic problem, therefore was '....one of constructing and maintaining subsocieties that may serve as plausibility structures' (Berger, 1969, 50) within a wider society and the solution was sought in effecting the maximum segregation of Roman Catholics from their non-Catholic fellow-citizens in the areas especially of marriage, family and education."
>
> (Coman, 1977, 17/18).

Thus what had begun as a natural immigrant minority reaction was now being consciously promoted by the hierarchy in the interests of self-maintenance.

It is unfortunate that Coman concentrates attention on the issues of education, health and insurance/social security, to the exclusion of a wider consideration of social services/social work provision that arose out of the Welfare State. However, the 'Catholic stance' is clearly stated - separate Catholic provisinn wherever possible. The centrality of the family also enables one to deduce Catholic priorities in terms of social work provision.

The major conflict within the British.Welfare State in relation to Roman Catholic social principles - the importance of the family, the right to private property, the just wage and subsidiary function - centred on the role of state power.

> "The need for 'co-operation with others', where the family alone cannot provide, leads on to the further Catholic social principle of subsidiary function. This held that a social function should be performed by the lowest and smallest group in society capable of performing it adequately with possible assistance from higher groupings, but without absorption of the functions by that higher group, except under compelling necessity ..... In Catholic thought individuals, families and larger groups such as guilds or unions and professional or business asociations should all co-operate harmoniously to form a society, which would be an organic whole. The state's role would be that of supervision, assistance in the harmonisation of group interests, filling the gaps in voluntary provision and itself performing those functions, which only the state could effectively undertake, e.g., internal law and order and defence against external enemies. It was hoped that spontaneous co-operation by the variety of groups within society would reduce the coercive intervention of the state to a minimum. TheChurch herself would be one very important group independent of the state but, in the light of her unique mission of salvation, she constituted within her own sphere, a perfect society in her own right."
>
> (Coman, 1977, 27).

Miller (1961) writing of this Catholic view of 'subsidiarity' - based on the theological doctrine of the freedom of man - explains that it holds that there are two important roles of government:- the promotive and the protective. The former is to encourage and make the fullest possible use of voluntary associations. The second permits the government to render direct services to people and should be exercised only as a last resort.

But where are such social principles to be found? Mainly in the writings of the Papal Social Encyclicals - especially Rerum Novarum (1891 - Leo XIII) and Quadragesimo Anno (1931 - Pius XI). These are official letters from the Head of the Catholic Church to her members. Such documents were regarded, and still are by some, as absolutely binding. It should however be noted that since the publication of

Humanae Vitae (1968 - Paul VI) - the controversial encyclical covering birth control - the very authority of the Church, and in particular Papal authority, has been questioned. The way in which this affects people will be taken up in Chapter 7 in a section specifically related to power and authority.

It must be said that in pursuing such an introverted policy towards the Welfare State, the Catholic Church must inevitably be seen (at least by socialists) to be hampering social progress. This in some measure perhaps explains the rather critical review which Coman's book received in the Catholic Herald (Kevin McNamara), for it was presumably perceived as showing the Catholic church in a bad light. At the time they went overboard on education to the detriment of everything else:

> "The Church's financial burden in education prevented its action in other social areas owing to the monopoly of available resources by the schools programme."
> (Coman, 1977, 75)

Finally, the impact of Vatican II needs to be highlighted. Along with the social encyclicals the documents of the Second Vatican Council in many ways revolutionized the thinking of the Church. This Council, convened by Pope John XXIII and continued by Paul VI, brought much change. Among other things it paved the way for a marked change in tone towards non-catholics and as has been suggested earlier greater ecumenicity reduced the separated minority sub-culture even further.

As one writer of the impact of Vatican II has described

> "At its best the transition from pre-conciliar to post-conciliar was one of arrogance to humility, from unjustifiable certainty to legitimate doubt, from security to hesitation, from swagger to stammer, from triumphalism to sharing in 'the joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age' (On the Church in the Modern World,1)"
> (Hebblethwaite, 1975, 10)

Vatican II brought with it "an 'opening to the world' and a readiness to learn from it", as opposed to "a suspicion of other Christians and an inbuilt sense of superiority over them" which had prevailed before.

One of the most significant documents was that of the 'Pastoral Constitution on The Church in the Modern World' (Gaudium et Spes) (Abbott, 1966, 199-308) - in which an appeal was made to break down every barrier that separates

man and men from God. It reminded Catholics of their obligation to participate in economic development and in the fashioning of political community. It is not too strong to say that after the Council nothing could be the same. Attitudes to authority and obedience were significantly altered, and nowhere was this more clearly demonstrated than in the Religious Congregations. Hebblethwaite again describes it as full and responsible participation of all citizens versus traditionally prized unquestioning obedience and authority.

> "Both were interestingly modified, in that obedience was qualified as 'mature', while authority was seen as existing not for its own sake but 'for service'. This is a possible synthesis which emphasizes that liberty and authority do not face each other with a frown, but are complementary and require the middle term of 'community': liberty exists in its context, and authority is exercised for its good."
> (Hebblethwaite, 1975, 20/21)

However,

> "The task of transforming an autocratic institution into a participatory community proved more difficult than anyone had imagined."
> (Hebblethwaite, 1975, 21).

It is a struggle which is continuing both in Religious Communities and in the Church in general. The ensuing diversity of theology and its increasingly critical attitude is due in part to the influence of psychology and sociology. For not only is it dynamic but

> "Theology reveals itself not so much as a single discipline,but as a cluster of sub-diciplines."
> (Hebblethwaite, 1975, 111).

The Council also called for change specifically in Religious Communities - Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of the Religious Life (Perfectae Caritatis).(Abbott, 1966, 466- 482). This necessitated a review and rewriting of the Rule of Life in modern terms and consistent with modern thinking, less evidence of a hierarchical structure within communities, possible modification of habit in line with present day requirements of work and convenience, a more open attitude to outsiders and in general a loosening of the traditional rigidity.

David Clark (1977) makes the pertinent comment however that to be asked to renew destroys much of the authonomy, but nevertheless great changes in the Religious Life have occurred.

This then provides the back-cloth against which we must consider the Sisters and their work. They did not aspire to being theologians, and in many ways they retained a fairly traditional theology - but they were part of this changing scene. Despite the very strong historical trend towards Catholic provision for Catholics, they stressed their availability to all regardless of their faith.

We should, however, not leave a section on the Catholic Church without brief mention of that church's particular involvement in the field of the single homeless. Perhaps best known in this field is the work of the Simon Community, founded by a Roman Catholic, Anton Wallich-Clifford. Later The Cyrenians were to split off to form another group operating a similar philosophy. One central facet of the 'Simon philosophy' was that 'the key to starting some sort of relationship with those who have no ability to do so is love, love and still more love, backed by untiring, unremitting and endless work' (Quoted in Nightingale, 1973, 313). She continues by saying quite significantly that the future of Christian charity is seen to lie in this direction

> "rather than in the continued imposition of beliefs and mores from a position of greater assurance and power"
>
> (Nightingale, 1973, 314)

However we should not forget in this context that

> "Charities working for destitutes and vagrants continue to be more predominatly Christian in character than those in most other fields, and there are some sharp contrasts between those who will see their work primarily as an attempt to win converts for a sectarian cause, and those who see it in rather subtler terms."
>
> (Nightingale, 1973, 308)

John Stewart in his book 'Of No Fixed Abode' draws attention also to the work of the Legion of Mary - a Catholic lay organisation devoted to an apostaolate of prayer and work, particularly in the Social Services. In describing their work with the single homeless two important issues emerge that are worth noting

> "The Legion has accepted that the men they care for are specialist in the sense that almost no-one else wants to know."
> (Stewart, 1975, 151)

And also they are performing a 'bridging role' over

> "the immense gulf that opens between such people and the rest of society once they enter the world of lodging houses, reception centres and sleeping rough."
> (Stewart, 1975, 151)

It is these unwanted clients that are the main focus of two of the groups studied, and it is to the history and development of Salvation Army provision and philosophy that we now turn.

The Salvation Army

Born in 1829 in Nottingham, William Booth attended Church as a child with his family but was won over to the Methodists when a teenager. It was amongst Wesley's followers that the man who was subsequently to found The Salvation Army first began lay preaching. Booth had been attracted to the Methodists because of their ministry to "the downtrodden and desperate" but became disillusioned as they became more respectable and provided separate entrances and seats for the poor. When his Methodist ticket failed to be renewed he was invited to join the Reformers. After some difficulties he was given a circuit ministry and was a Dissenting Minister. Booth believed fervently in a ministry to those not served by the Churches and held to Wesley's rule that "You have nothing to do but save souls.....go always not only to those who need you, but to those who need you most." His attraction to an open-air peripatetic ministry led him to join the New Connexion as a minister - travelling campaigner until once more he was thwarted. In 1857 his activities were curtailed because he was thought to be going too far too fast. However in 1858 he did become a fully ordained minster. His wife Catherine, whom he had married in 1855, also started preaching. In 1861 he resigned from the Connexion although he did carry on preaching.

Then in 1865 Booth began his work specifically aimed at making a direct appeal to 'the Masses' as The Christian Revival Association. This evolved into The East London

Christian Mission and then The Christian Mission. This latter has been described by R.Robertson (1967) as "neo-democratic". It has been suggested that Booth was inspired by Papal autocracy, rather than the structure of the British military of the 1870's, to transform the Christian Mission (largely based on Methodist New Connexion Principles) into the rigid hierarchical Salvation Army by Deeds of 1875 and 1878. It was only in 1878 however that the title of The Salvation Army was adopted.

Thus William Booth became General Superintendent of the 88 strong Salvation Army with supreme authority which included the right to appoint a successor.

This brief history of the origins of the Salvation Army is a necessary prelude to any discussion of the theology of this sect - for Booth was very much influenced by his various links with Methodism. He initially saw his revivalist techniques as enabling him to convert the outcasts that the clergy did not reach but then passing them on to existing churches, and it was only later that he sought to establish a specific alternative to the churches - as a result of failing to successfully introduce new converts to them. Arguments over the reluctance to use "uncompromising methods of conversion" (Robertson, 1967, 61) had led to his breakaway from existing groups and he himself practised a return to the earlier Methodist revival techniques influenced by John Wesley.

Robertson describes it thus:-

> "The specific nature of the sensationalist methods of conversion which were employed after Booth's Christian Mission was 'militarised' and finally put on a totally autocratic basis in 1878 was such that the movement became committed to an 'organisational style' which has continued to insulate the Salvation Army against worldly involvement of a denominational, secularly accommodative kind. It is the subtle interplay of social conditions, the religious message brought to particular groups and the organisational means employed to this end that has given rise to the modern Salvation Army."
>
> (Robertson, 1967, 54/55).

> "The social wing is of considerable importance as a factor underpinning the subtle relationship between the Salvation Army and the wider society, for upon it has hinged much of its accommodation-external acceptance relationship to the wider society."
>
> (Robertson, 1967, 55).

However, it must be remembered that Booth's Social Scheme is set in a background of a strong and exclusively evangelistic ministry. Although proposing new plans in his 'Scheme of Social Selection and Salvation' propounded in the Treatise 'In Darkest England and the Way Out' in 1890, Booth remained faithful to his old principles. The primary aim, and an unchanging one, was the saving of souls.

In an interesting discussion of 'The Salvation Army and Social Questions of the Day' Christine Parkin sets out to examine the "Salvation Army's approach to the problems of poverty during its formative years, from its foundation in 1865 to the launching of the Darkest England Scheme in 1890". (Parkin, 1972).

Although the Christian Mission was often confused with the 'ranters' of the Primitive Methodists - a politically conscious group characterised by 'aggressive open-air evangelism' - Parkin demonstrates that

> "the attitude of Booth and his Army to social questions, at least for its first quarter-century, was far more akin to the Wesleyan outlook than to the Primitive Methodist approach. Indeed, when the Army as a movement did turn its attention to the whole problem of the under-privileged, the audacious scheme then envisaged still reflected far more the conservative, patriarchal attitude of Wesley than the politically-conscious attitude of the Primitives."
> (Parkin, 1972, 106)

As Harold Begbie (1920) (one of William Booth's main biographers) points out, the founder of the Salvation Army was a prophet more than a theologian . This is reflected in the brevity with which the Articles of Faith are expressed - a convenience which would appall most theologians. Contrasted with the Roman Catholic church's approach the difference is stark. However, the central concern here is with the social philosophy of William Booth and the movement he founded, which stems from his faith.

Parkin writes:

> "For almost the first twenty-five years of the existence of his movement, Booth remained convinced in practice that his message of salvation was providing, albeit secondarily, one of the most effective weapons against the prevalence of poverty. He considered the economic misery of those amongst whom he worked and diagnosed its moral causes. He saw that drunkenness and vicious habits were responsible for a great deal of poverty, and that the disruption of family life among the poor was responsible for much more. He knew that

> the message he had for all men could change the habits and circumstances of a life-time and replace a life of idleness and promiscuity with one of industry and control. He was sure that once he could change the character of the man, the nature of his circumstances would, in more cases than not, change with him. At the times when he was faced with the kind of misery whose causes were purely economic, his main answer was the exercise of Christian love through charity and every other evidence of care and concern".
>
> (Parkin, 1972, 106)

A fourfold attitude is visible in the writings of the Christian Mission Evangelists -

> "They saw society purely in religious and moral terms and gave no importance to economic distinctions. They perpetuated Booth's and Wesley's individualistic concept, aware of the economic advantage that sometimes attended conversion for the individual, but they made no attempt to work this out into a systematic process. They saw the main relief of poverty in terms of the charity of one class towards another. But in spite of their lack of scientific principle they showed a real involvement in the plight of the poor, bewilderment over its cause, and frustration at being unable to relieve it."
>
> (Parkin, 1972, 106/7)

This era was characterised by a somewhat naive approach to social problems -

> "The application of scientific principles and the academic study of social problems was still in its infancy and it was still felt most popularly that religious and humanitarian agencies concerned for the care of the soul as well as the body were the most capable of dealing with distress."
>
> (Parkin, 1972, 109)

It is interesting to contrast Booth's political involvement with that of his contemporary Cardinal Manning. Manning firmly believed that Christian social principles should be translated into positive action for the benefit of those suffering from want and distress. His interest was with the whole human being - 'a soul-body'. He felt that one could not work for the improvement of one and ignore the other. To say one was interested in the poor of London but always in order to save their souls, was to Manning the worst kind of hypocrisy and an excuse for doing nothing. In spite of this view he was in favour of Booth and the Salvation Army. Booth, on the other hand, took a different line.

> "Certainly at this stage, neither Booth nor his officers saw any room in their thinking for any other remedies for the problem of poverty. Although Booth himself had considerable sympathy for some of the panaceas which were advocated, particularly for trade unionism and co-operation, he did not, in his writings nor in his varied activity, ever refer to the possibility of bringing the weight of his authority in the religious sphere, at one time considerable, to bear upon the political or economic aims of other groups. He was never tempted to see the social responsibility of the church in this light, which is where, in practice, his attitude differs from that of the Primitives."
> (Parkin, 1972, 109)

Parkin notes

> "Most Salvationists quickly developed a social conscience, but this did not at any time lead them into other social or political fields."
> (Parkin, 1972, 110)

There was one notable exception to this - Frank Smith. His rather 'left-wing' approach to poverty, although by no means representative of his fellow Salvationists, does serve to indicate the beginnings of a change in stance by Booth.

Although social relief projects figured in the Army's programme, they were deeply distrusted by Booth. Despite these personal feelings his officers found themselves increasingly involved in social relief work as the movement grew.

So by the mid-eighties the seeds of much future institutional work were sown - with prisoners, prostitutes, the destitute and the unemployed.

> "All of this represented what was for Booth a very significant change of mind from one of considerable doubt about the efficacy of any form of social relief for attaining his real purpose. He had felt that the various kinds of rescue work, usually undertaken as the result of a pressing sense of urgency, should not become central to the Army's life and programme. By the end of 1890, however, he was coming to a very different conclusion."
> (Parkin, 1972, 112)

This led to the publication, in October 1890, of his great sociological treatise informing the public of the social and spiritual condition of many of the population prevailing at the time. Not content to expose the miseries and evils that he and his officers had

discovered, he put forward a comprehensive solution to this great 'social problem' - a 'Scheme of Social Selection and Salvation'. This was to become the basis for the social operations of the newly created Army. In retrospect it is perhaps not so surprising that such a work should have originated from a contemporary religious leader, for religious thought during the Nineteenth Century provided one of the main influences on the development of the emerging discipline of social work as we shall see. Booth had had a change of heart, but

> "For Booth the basic factor was still the irreligion of the masses, and not their poverty."
> (Parkin, 1972, 113)

Thus his Social Scheme is set in a background of a strong and exclusively evangelistic ministry. Although proposing new plans, Booth remained faithful to his old principles. The primary aim, and an unchanging one, was the saving of souls. As stated in his Preface, "If we can help the man it is in order that we may change him." (Booth, 1890). Booth however managed to combine the provision ofmaterial comfort with his message of spiritual hope, and he "held no man or woman beyond redemption." (Collier, 1965, 15) . His description of England at that time indicates his preoccupation with the evils of drunkenness and immorality.

> "A population sodden with drink, steeped in vice, eaten up by every social and physical malady, these are the denizens of Darkest England amidst whom my life has been spent, and to whose rescue I would now summon all that is best in the manhood and womanhood of our land."
> (Booth, 1890, 14)

Booth called for support from all the churches and roundly castigated their lack of interest in rescuing people from 'the inferno of their present life.' While himself placing considerable emphasis on salvation, he recognised the inconsistency of people concentrating exclusively on the world to come without any attempt

> "to break this terrible perpetuity of perdition, and to rescue some at least of those for whom they profess to believe their Founder came to die."
> (Booth, 1890, 16)

Salvationism was to be essentially a practical religion from then on.

However, Booth's scheme was greatly influenced by a Protestant Ethic : which stated that work was not only good but necessary. Any solution had to start with the workless, a group he saw as without help, and provision of employment for them was one of his first ambitions. This principle extended throughout the project, with each venture planned to become self-supporting by the efforts of those being helped. He felt it was an inalienable right of man (as a descendant of Adam) to work, and all those who did not share this desire to work and in fact persistently refused to work were classified as 'moral lunatics' and treated accordingly! Perhaps one of the few unenlightened views he held. In this way the element of 'deserving' and 'undeserving poor', which he so strenously denied, seems to have been introduced.

Primarily the Scheme itself was to cover those in the 'submerged tenth' of the population, for whom a comprehensive rescue operation was to be mounted. He proposed the establishment of three self-helping and self-sustaining communities - a City Colony, a Farm Colony and the Colony Over Sea - to be governed and disciplined on the same principles as the Salvation Army (a form of regimented co-operation which he saw as essential.) Central to the whole Scheme though was the idea of regeneration to be achieved by moral and religious influences and training.

At this point it is perhaps appropriate to outline Booth's whole motivation and the principles which backed this forward looking enterprise.

> "All material help from without is useful only in so far as it develops moral strength within."
> (Booth, 1890, 44)

The solution to the 'Social Problem' would only be possible if a new moral life was brought into the soul of those 'submerged tenth', therefore the first object of every social reformer should be to insist on 'being born again!' The secular was not enough. In Booth's words

> "To get a man soundly saved it is not enough to put on him a pair of new breaches, to give him regular work, or even to give him a University education. These things are all outside a man, and if the inside remains unchanged you have wasted your labour. You must in some way or other graft upon the man's nature a new nature, which has in it the element of the Divine."
>
> "To change the nature of the individual, to get at the heart, to save his soul is the only real lasting method of doing him any good. In many modern schemes of social regeneration it is forgotten that 'it takes a soul to move a body, e'en to a cleaner sty', and at the risk of being misunderstood and misrepresented, I must assert in the most unqualified way that it is primarily and mainly for the sake of saving the soul that I seek the salvation of the body."
>
> (Booth, 1890, 45).

Booth did realise, however, that it was no use preaching to a man whose whole attention was concentrated upon a 'mad and desperate struggle to keep alive'. First of all you had to help him gain a firm footing in life. Although material help served to fulfil this end, Booth (despite his critics) in his later years did appear to have a genuine desire to help the poor and unfortunate in their plight. Often both man and his circumstances needed changing.

With the central belief that it was only through God's help and in following His Calling that such work could be achieved, Booth viewed the efforts of those working without faith in a somewhat patronising way. He certainly would not deny that anyone who fed the hungry, clothed the naked and provided work for the workless, from whatever point of view, was doing the will of God. However, he criticised most other schemes as only dealing with 'the mere fringe of evil' and concentrating on those who least needed help, i.e., in Booth's terms 'the aristocracy of the miserable' - the thrifty, the industrious, the sober and the thoughtful who for the most part could take care of themselves.

He envisaged his Social Scheme covering all men just as the Gospel Scheme for Eternal Salvation covered all those who wished for it - 'the whosoever will'. Even if temporal salvation was rejected, the opportunity to reject it must be provided.

Viewed as a missionary endeavour, nevertheless it was recognised that the Salvation Army had secular uses. In Australia, the Government of Victoria, not only encouraged the Salvation Army's work in the prisons, but when faced with a problem of massive unemployment turned the whole task of dealing with the situation over to the Army, providing funds for it.

Booth's criticism of charity requires some attention. He felt his Scheme was clearly distinguished from other forms of charitable relief in that people were expected, with very few exceptions to work before food was provided. He called this the 'Charity of Remunerative Labour'. This he felt avoided the demoralising aspect of just providing food or other relief for nothing. One could question in fact whether this bothered 'the dosser' as much as it was thought to! Booth explains however

> "We are not opposed to charity as such, but to the mode of its administration, which, instead of permanently relieving, only demoralises and plunges the recipients lower in the mire, and so defeats its own purpose."
> (Booth, 1890, 251)

'Philanthropic tinkering' and provision of temporary relief did more harm than good in his view.

The General felt too that any criticism of his social endeavours on the grounds of their religious content was unfounded. He argued that it was better for people to be fed, found work etc., even if certain religious practices and notions accompanied the work, than for the people not to be fed or cared for at all. A dislike of the Salvation Army should not stand in the way of anyone supporting his Social Scheme. He re-iterates many times that participation in religious activities was not compulsory, e.g., in the Shelters, but he is somewhat naive in thinking that there was any realistic choice available. A slogan which is quoted in the biography by Richard Collier (1965) indicates what was the connection in the mind of the public

"Soup, Soap and Salvation"

What is significant with regard to the link between social work or secular intervention and religious endeavours is what the recipients themselves feel, not

necessarily what is claimed by 'the givers'.

Religious and secular were thus inextricably entwined in the Nineteenth Century philosophy of the Salvation Army, and the over-riding concern was with saving souls, i.e., religion. The secular provided a means to an end. In fact 19th Century missionary workers as a whole were greatly troubled by this question of charity - should the Gospel have priority over social help. Modern understanding of psychology now means that the individual case is assessed on its merits and the decision made accordingly.

(Heasman, 1965).

How did the Salvation Army stand in relation to the Weslyan ideals from which it derived?

> "The elements of the scheme show Booth's indebtedness to the Weslyan concept. He did not depart for one moment from the individualism which marked Wesley's theology, and he retained within the framework of his scheme the conservative, patriarchal approach to human misery. Here was no blue-print for a social revolution, no encouragement for the break-down of the social order. The prevailing class structure is made the focal point of fruitful co-operation, rather than an element of friction. The destitute and poverty-stricken, although their right to work is fully expressed, are still looked upon as erring children, whose one true salvation is to return to the Father God. And yet Booth departed from Wesley in the very conception that such a scheme was not only necessary, but that it was his responsibility to produce it. For Booth, unlike Wesley, had been forced to the conclusion that poverty bred sin and as such he had no alternative but to fight poverty with all the audacity and on the same kind of universal scale that he was daring to fight sin."
>
> (Parkin, 1972, 116)

Booth had not set out to form a separate organisation but this is what resulted. He had attempted to attract the working classes and the poor into the churches, but he met with limited success- it is worth quoting Parkin again as she summarises the impact his vision had.

> "Booths vision,however, of men and women lifted by the scheme from poverty and sin to independence and righteousness had only limited success. For in the end it was not poverty so much as social habit that kept the poor out of the churches, and even Booth, with all his ingenuity and understanding of the poor, was unable to dispel this. He was on surer

ground with his bright 'corybantic' Christianity, his uniforms and street processions drawn from the culture of the poor than he was with his social rescue enterprises. In the long run, they provided a channel of service for his devoted officers and soldiers, the answer to a cry of need, rather than a new method of salvation.

The Salvationists' approach to poverty indicates that, in this field at least, they remained characteristically fundamentalist in their apolitical approach to social problems, in their fierce conviction that only the cure of the soul could achieve lasting results. Yet in spite of their aloofness from political controvery and their lack of interest in economic agitation, they became more involved with the practical problems created by poverty than many of their religious contemporaries and through this they learned to regard the care of the soul as more than a spiritual problem. Today still regarded as one of the foremost voluntary agencies, the Salvation Army is committed to twentieth-century methods for the care and rehabilitation of the poor. For its ability to adapt to changing circumstances the movement is much indebted to its founder who, unlike many visionaries, had no interest in the creation of a future utopia, but was concerned solely with the practicalities of the present."

(Parkin, 1972, 117)

But what of the present?

A former General, Frederick Coutts, writes in his autobiography that an officer requires three firm bases for his life's work

"He must be a man of God, a man of the Word, and a man of the people".

(Coutts, 1976, 30)

He was also firmly convinced that

"social caring can never be separated from personal evangelism."

(Coutts, 1976, 146)

In 1974 a re-affirmation of William Booth's thesis was published by the Salvation Army under the title of 'In Darkest England Now'. This provided in interview form an attempt to see how the "blue print for Salvation" has been affected by modern times. The language and style are considerably less emotive, in itself one indication of the changes that have taken place.

Although the Protestant Ethic with regard to work has largely disappeared, the social work of the Army has certainly not decreased, nor has there been much alteration in the range of services provided. However the significant difference is found in how the blend between religious and secular activities is viewed. Despite his Social Scheme their Founder is very much associated with an Evangelistic Ministry.

Today the Salvation Army is probably the biggest voluntary social service agency in the country, and increasingly there is more liaison and collaboration with the Local Authority. The latter are even pressing for additional welfare work to be taken on. For instance in Coventry, the Corporation erected a building for housing the homeless and handed it over to the Salvation Army to run on its behalf. The Army are also in receipt of grant aid for youth work, although the qualified worker is provided by them. But assistance is not just one way, the Salvation Army provides Youth Work Tutors for L.A.Courses. The view is also taken that

> "The local authorities can cater for many needs, but they often prefer non-statutory work to help them in difficult parts of their programme."
> (S.A. 1974, 32)

Like all voluntary societies they have maintained their pioneering role, e.g., in the area of provision for the mentally handicapped. Not only is financial support derived from local government, but also central funds - the D.H.S.S., occasionally the N.H.S., the Home Office, and in Scotland their work with delinquent youth is a direct charge on the taxpayer.

But where are the "worst" souls which their Founder urged them to go for? Today they are not to be found solely amongst the poor (as theSisters find also) - for it is recognised that rising living standards are not necessarily related to moral standards, let alone Christian ones. Both the socially deprived and the affluent need saving, and the central philosophy remains one of the need of salvation for all. Perhaps "the worst" have to be seen in terms of human needs, human suffering and human despair rather than the moral depravity of Booth's era.

General Wickberg stated in his preface to the book

> "Although the emphasis in our work may change here and there from direct evangelism to community social service, the motivation is the same and will remain so."
>
> (S.A. 1974, 9)

Many feel that community social service should not be seen as an alternative to the Gospel but an expression of it. In America their work is even seen as a 'socio-religious' task. More than Britain's Welfare State is seen as needed -

> "One needs more than hard facts, good laws and State aid .... the heart is also needed."
>
> (S.A. 1974, 8)

It is the heart that they seek to introduce.

Continuity is provided to the work with the very fact that the Salvation Army today operate with a social fund that grew from the Darkest England Appeal of 1890. Although Booth failed to reach his target, and many of the projects had eventually to be abandoned due to lack of support, some money was raised, and continues to be raised. Whereas Booth advocated a continuity of principle he also urged 'adaptation of method'. This adaptation is seen in the provision and approach to their social services today. For example, amongst the many residential facilities offered for alcoholics there is one run on the lines of a therapeutic community. Also the emphasis is on the need for training, as it is recognised that just feeding and housing 'the dosser' is not enough - there should be a wider concept of treatment. Workers in the field of alcoholism express the belief that God expects them to do as much as they possibly can, with all their available skills, to help the man - but salvation nevertheless remains the priority. An Alcoholic Assessment Unit is provided - again very much in line with modern thinking. Another new area is that of Bail Hostels - an example of how one branch of work develops to meet new needs. In Whitechapel there is the Field Wing Experiment offering an alternative to prison for first offenders over 17 of 'No Fixed Abode', while awaiting trial. The Salvation Army are also currently pioneering a counselling service on the grounds that

> "The idea that religious experience solves all a person's emotional problems is mistaken."
>
> (S.A. 1974, 231).

Behind all their social work runs a spiritual drive. Many officers would now see the social and evangelical as two sides of the same coin. The tactics employed can perhaps be divided into direct and indirect evangelism. Numerous officers find that the social service approach is the Christian approach and they would not accept that their method of winning people to God is inferior to preaching. In the words of one Salvation Army officer

> "To preach, to proclaim the gospel by word of mouth, is no more effective than to proclaim the gospel by the service of one's hands or one's feet. Some of our preachers would have difficulty in producing results equal to those of our people engaged in community service."

In the Goodwill Work (i.e, in the slums) they often do not go to preach but to care, and people are thus prompted to consider the motive behind their work and consequently be converted. Tension has existed in the past between corp work (i.e., exclusively religious) and social work (with its more secular overtones). This has its origins from the time of the first Darkest England, and historically the two streams have developed separately. This was due mainly to the fact that at the beginning of his ministry Booth had excluded all reference to social ills. As we have seen it was only in 1890 that he proclaimed that social needs, e.g., poverty, were standing in the way of the work of salvation and had therefore to be removed. The social work however was seen as aiding the religious ministry, rather than standing in its own right, as it is perhaps considered to do today. However this tension is slowly being resolved and more corp buildings are being built to serve as community service centres as well.

The work of community service is in itself wide-ranging, catering for all age groups. Traditional work with 'the dossers' and Mother & Baby Homes, is now augmented by new needs as they arise - for example homeless Ugandan Asians. The responsibility for much of this social work involvement lies with the Men's and Women's Social Services. The Army's Missing Persons Bureau continues to hold a world-wide reputation.

In all this work, however, they remain firm in their resolution only to undertake work if they are allowed the freedom to work in Christ's name and offer His Salvation to all who need it. They will not accept what to them would be a merely humanistic endeavour, although it would appear that there is more flexibility in this attitude amongst individual Salvationists than in Booth's time. There is also a recognition that closer liaison between statutory and voluntary bodies is required, despite Booth's avoidance of State collaboration which had few exceptions.

As in many other groups 'the poor' have been redefined. In the 19th Century concern was concentrated on the poor, particularly the workless, in other words 'the submerged tenth'. There is an acceptance now that poverty is not only material but can be experienced in emotional and social ways too, and there is a wider group of need.

Booth, as mentioned earlier, had no time for contemporary clergy who contented themselves with an other-worldly philosophy with regard to the poor. Like the socialist utopians, they emphasised that the lot of the poor would be reversed or compensated for in the future, i.e., in the next world or after the 'revolution' respectively! This dispensed them from any obligation to alleviate present suffering. Booth profoundly disagreed, but did admit that his main purpose in the saving of bodies was so that he could more effectively go about the work of saving souls.

In the past Salvationists, while appealing for financial support from other denominations, had worked exclusively together. When Booth appealed for man power he made it clear that those coming forward would work as Salvationist Soldiers, obeying the rules of the Army, and he would accept no compromise in this area. Today there is more flexibility with non-salvationist professionally qualified personnel being appointed to work in the social services as long as they are in sympathy with general agency principles.

Just as Booth had been critical of some of his contemporaries - so he too was criticised. Unlike Manning who had supported his Scheme, Archbishop Benson refused to

help the Scheme's forerunner in 1888 saying

> "State endowment of religious charities is contrary to the principle of the National Church"
>
> (Booth, 1925, 72)

He was thought too to be particularly biased over the issue of drink

> "the drink difficulty lies at the root of everything. Nine-tenths of our poverty, squalor, vice and crime spring from this poisonous tap-root".
>
> (Booth, 1890, 47)

Today, the evil of drink is still a feature of the Army and its work, but the language has perhaps been tempered. Booth too met considerable opposition from the Charity Organisation Society, somewhat ironically since they both seemed to hold the same attitude to clients being self-supporting and working to this end. Despite these criticisms, even if Booth's proposals were not all continued to the present day, each one served a purpose and proved a point at the time, for example the match factory, and it is for this that he should be remembered.

Modern Salvationists still feel that they are in accordance with their Founder's ideology

> "The tactics have changed and the weapons are different, but that is all. There is no departure from that love of souls, that great compassion for the needy that the Founder exemplified in his wonderful life."
>
> (Salvation Army, 1974, 71)

The emphasis is on working in Christ's name to rehabilitate the whole man - physically, mentally and spiritually. A philosophy certainly in accordance with current psycho-social theory. The Salvation Army now includes social work education at its International Training Centre to help officers compete on an equal footing in what is becoming an increasingly secular field.

One further point that requires stressing is the very different role of women within the Army. Women are officers in their own right, and perform their own ministries. Thus there is a 'female clergy' unknown in many other churches and sects. I have no particular information on the relative numbers of men and women in

the Army, or of their ranks. However, the wife of an officer takes the rank of her husband, even if she is of higher rank in her own right.

They differ significantly from the Roman Catholic Church also in their view of sacraments. It is sufficient here to note that they are strongly anti-sacramental, in contrast to the very great importance placed by Catholics on the Seven Sacraments, as a means of obtaining grace.

Finally one must come to terms with the paradox of the Salvation Army - as Roland Robertson puts it

> "the paradox of the Army's separation from "the world", on the one hand, and the wider society's "acceptance" of it, on the other. More concretely, why in spite of the Salvationist's rejection of many facets of modern society has the Army been for many years a respected, if occasionally ridiculed, movement, with its centenary celebrated by a service in Westminster Abbey and a commemorative stamp?"
>
> (Robertson, 1965, 11)

Moving from a point of outright persecution the Army has developed an interesting relationship to the surrounding wider society, unlike most other sects - in Robertson's words

> "What it has consistently tried to maintain is a modus vivendi with the wider society, by which it is free to be both critical and yet regarded as indispensable to the social order."
>
> (Robertson, 1965, 12)

Even in its early days it enjoyed middle class support - particularly financial, and it could be suggested that as an organisation it has become increasingly middle class. This in part is explained by the tendency (shared with other sects) of its very doctrines to promote good business ideals and for its members to prosper. This in turn makes it a vehicle for upward social mobility. As has already been suggested doctrinally it put forward a kind of asceticism.

> "In its doctrine the Army has always propounded a form of asceticism which emphasises the qualities of hard work and obedience. Salvationism maintains a sharp antithesis between sinfulness and holiness, is suspicious of modern entertainments (although not unwilling to adapt these to its own ends) and, somewhat ambiguously, rejects sacramental practices. In sum, the Army preaches a fundamentalist version of Protestantism, emphasising the desirability of simplicity and frugality in everyday living. Paradoxically, these orientations have enabled some Salvationists to achieve a fair degree of

> affluence, a condition which gives rise to further difficulties. A Salvationist has recently written that his religion "tends to agree with business" and that Salvationists "are inclined to prosper ... There is spiritual peril in all this, but peril the Salvationist is expected to overcome."
>
> (Robertson, 1965, 12/13)

Its relative simplicity of doctrine, Robertson suggests has also protected it from schism on matters of belief. They are also very secretive on membership figures, so it is difficult to determine very precisely the numbers involved. One thing that cannot be disputed is the continuing impact on British Society.

> "In Britain the significance of the Army today lies in two major forms. First, it continues as an important adjunct of the Welfare state; and second, it is still seen by many outsiders as 'a keeper of the public conscience.'"
>
> (Robertson, 1965, 13)

Despite its increasingly middle-class orientation, Booth's hope that "the masses" - the destitute - would be reached is to some extent fulfilled and perhaps his reputed words to his son as he died

> "Take care of the homeless, the homeless men, the homeless children, or I will come back to haunt you."

is still in the mind of modern Salvationists!

<u>Personal Social Services.</u>

> "Social Work can only be understood if the historical threads, usually separated for close scrutiny, are woven together again."
>
> (Seed, 1973, V)

Again one must turn the clock back to understand much of what motivates those working under the auspices of statutory social work departments and how they are expected to operate.

Social work today is in a state of crisis - involving many tensions and unresolved conflicts. Is it or should it be a profession? Should social work be concerned with care and/or control predominantly? Is social work to have a political dimension? These and many other questions which are commonly raised make this section particularly complex.

It is a difficult task to summarise the main streams of development without becoming too embroiled in detailed arguments about specific issues, which though connected with the central concerns of this thesis must be limited for reasons of space. It is difficult too to both write and read this section in isolation from the rest of the thesis, for much of this particular section can only be understood in the context of the empirical work and in contrast to the other groups.

Modern social work with its most obvious roots in the charity and philanthropy of the last century has struggled hard to free itself from the judgmental attitude which divided people into 'deserving' and 'undeserving'. Many might argue that this distinction is still applied but less overtly.

As acknowledged by the recent Wolfenden Report on The Future of Voluntary Organisations (1978) there was a close identification of social service with religion, although the Report goes on to suggest that an even more significant factor two hundred years ago was

> "the traditional bond of the aristocracy and gentry with those beneath them."

This was the true paternalism which for so long bedevilled helping relationships.

Social work is a relatively new term and it is misleading to talk of 'social work' in the 17th Century or even biblical times. Philip Seed in a discussion of this very point says:-

> "There is a difference between trying to understand the historical background to events and traditions from which there is evidence that modern social work developed .... and simply claiming a piece of history as belonging to modern social work."
>
> (Seed, 1973, X)

He goes on to describe the way in which social work as a <u>movement</u> succeeded to the inheritance of philanthropy, aided by the three forms of disciplined social action which characterised the 19th Century. These were social action within a developing system of social administration, the charity organisation movement and direct social action by people such as Robert Owen, and Elizabeth Fry.

"The term 'social work' was first used in Britain at the end of the nineteenth century in connection with the activities of people who had a sense of belonging to a movement which aimed at social advance based on disciplined and principled forms of social action. Social work was an attempt to find more realistic remedies to social problems and to social distress than traditional forms of philanthropy and charity .... These were both much older terms than social work. Philanthropy was the activity of giving away money for the public good. The philanthropist was a wealthy man who was 'public spirited'. Charity was the object for which the money was given.

(Seed, 1973, 3)

Returning for a moment to the three forms of social action, one can trace their combined impact on the twentieth century. Given the prevailing laissex-faire philosophy of the time it was an anomaly for some to have any system of positive social administration at all, and there was opposition in 1834 to the beginnings of a more centralised Poor Law and later to state intervention in public health. In fact, 1834 did see the first attempts to systematise and control relief, and the social administrators of the nineteenth century were of considerable importance in the subsequent development of social work.

"First, they constituted a link, not always a very popular one between voluntary charitable effort and political action. Second, their experience in innovation, while at the same time acting as agents of social control, provided a pattern for subsequent statutory action. Third, their administrative experience in social investigation in preparing reports, working in teams, and in establishing viable forms of bureaucratic organisation, helped to make the idea of collective social service provision in Britain a credible one at the end of the nineteenth century."

(Seed, 1973, 16)

One can already see the forerunner of much of the current tension - personal v. political; care v. control and bureaucracy v. professionalism.

Charity and philanthropy were for the most part 'those that had' ministering to 'those that had not'! This often involved the recipient in being duly deferential and grateful to his donors. The Charity Organisation movement, of which the Charity Organisation Society (C.O.S.) established in 1869 was a part, was an attempt

> "first, to define charity in terms of scientific method and, second, to organise philanthropy effectively so as to be able to tackle social problems by this method. It shared with the supporters of the 1834 Poor Law the fear of indiscriminate relief, and it sought to co-operate with the Poor Law system. On the other hand, it represented an alternative to the Poor Law in so far as charity by definition, was an individual, personal act which no agency of the state could perform."
>
> (Seed, 1973, 16)

One of the most significant factors was that the C.O.S. provided an organisational setting which was conducive to professionalisation. This as will be seen was a source of tension between voluntary and statutory bodies - along with the related issues of training and qualification.

The final category of social action was that of direct social action undertaken by individuals who all shared certain principles. These shared principles are referred to more explicitly by Seed

> "For example, they rejected the conventional idea that the individual pauper or the delinquent could be blamed for the problems of society. Society, too, was to blame. There was therefore no point in distinguishing, as the C.O.S. did in its early days, between the deserving and the undeserving - the undeserving needed attention too. A better approach was to attempt to recast the institutions of society in terms which gave direct expression to charity as 'the universal law of love'. They advocated radical changes but not violent revolution. They were usually opposed to punishment. They were only incidentally interested in legislative reforms and they were largely dissociated from political movements aimed at action through Parliament."
>
> (Seed, 1973, 19/20)

Their action was based on a belief that global change could be brought about from local attempts stemming from individual action, and that people were open to rational persuasion. This had particular significance for modern social work - personal involvement modified the detachment encouraged by the C.O.S. approach; a better balance was achieved between focussing solely on the individual and little on society which was to lead to the development of community work; and thirdly social education was promoted rather than social violence as a means of furthering social action.

Added to this was the combined importance of all three forms of social action for the development of social work.

> "Social action within social administration provided organisational precedent and stability; the charity organisation movement provided the tradition of investigation, individualisation and the elements of professional training; direct social action provided the involvement, social evangelism, social pacifism, romanticism and breadth of vision."
>
> (Seed, 1973, 27)

The end of the 19th Century saw a developing social consciousness, which included some realisation of the size of the problem, the ignorance on the part of the middle classes in relation to the conditions of the working class and recognition of the limitations of philanthropy and the inevitability of some form of statutory provision - not forgetting an awareness of growing working class confidencein organising their own forms of self help. A new philanthropy of 'personal service' had emerged.

One area that necessitates particular attention is the differentiation made between religious movements of the time and the newly emerged social work. Seed comments

> "As a social movement, social work sought to distinguish itself from political movements on the one hand, and from religious movements on the other hand....The differentiation of social work from religious movements was not always clear. In the Settlements, in particular, the social gospel was sometimes entangled with the religious gospel. The C.O.S.solved this problem by seeing itself as an alternative to religious evangelism. Charity was the fruit of true religious faith, and, as Loch (1904) put it,'in fervency it is religious'."
>
> (Seed, 1973, 39/40)

In some sense the settlement movement is as important for its ideals (not always achieved) as for the actual work that it undertook. Canon Barnett wanted to keep the work "religious in the widest sense." He envisaged a relationship of equality between social worker and client as a basic principle of social work. Unfortunately such a 'two-way arrangement' as Young & Ashton (1956) describes it, was severely hampered by the class divisions of nineteenth century society. Nevertheless he envisaged

that educated people would 'settle' in poor areas and would share their culture, in return for learning of the way of life of the needy. This would in some measure begin to counteract the general ignorance of the middle classes referred to earlier.

Settlements were in some measure a product of the discovery of the poverty abounding in large towns at that time, the development of women's university education and the view that educated people (as opposed to upper and middle classes) had a unique role to play in breaking down barriers to social change. The degree of enlightenment, particularly of Canon Barnett, behind the settlement movement is worthy of note - as I have said, as much for the contrast that it provides with contemporary movements as for its actual content.

> "His teaching, which was accepted by all settlements of Barnett's day was that exact knowledge of the true needs of an area must be gained before anything can be done; and that the deep suspicions of the poor of the motives and lives of the better off and educated leaders who came to live amongst them must be overcome. His first emphasis therefore was equally on research, and love; research in the sense of studying the social structure of the neighbourhood and understanding the needs of the individuals in it; love in the sense of loving one's neighbours as oneself, giving them a helping hand when they needed it and sharing in their hopes and aspirations - a very different conception from that of the case-worker sharing the lives of his clients only in their difficulties. His second emphasis was on the need to educate the poor to rise out of their material poverty and spiritual drabness. This he thought the poor could not do unaided. It was the duty of settlements to keep the world informed not only of the need itself, but of possible solutions."
> (Young & Ashton, 1956, 233f)

This quotation speaks for itself. The Settlements lay undoubtedly on this ambiguous border between what is considered religious and what is considered secular.

At that time people found it difficult to disassociate social work from religion, but with the increasing influence from America and the struggle for professional recognition I would suggest that social work became more secularized. Education, in particular, was used as a tool to further this process. An idea which has a particularly familiar ring, when thinking of the debate about genericism, is

that the unity of purpose of social work is most often expressed in connection with training.

> "Education was a means of sustaining and disciplining a social mission which otherwise might be deflected into uniformed political, religious, or philanthropic activities. Yet this unity covered up important ideological differences within the social work movement."
> (Seed, 1973, 40)

The outbreak of the First World War marked the end of that period of social evangelism in which social work originated. The conflict between social work as a movement and social work as a profession had still to be resolved. This conflict of objectives was in part resolved by stressing 'casework principles' - these were derived from the very principles of social action which had guided the early social work movement ('friendship, 'human work' etc) but were re-phrased, developed and refined (Seed, 1973). This attempt to make them appear scientific occurred not least in the influential American Literature of the early 20th Century. The 1920's and 30's saw the impact on Britain of the American psychoanalytic school. For the next thirty years social work was to be heavily biased towards the individualistic one-to-one casework relationship. Problems were seen in personal terms stemming from the client's own relationships of the past or present. Structural factors were often completely ignored.

The other significant effect of professionalisation in Britain was the fragmentation of social work into separately administered specialist agencies, reinforced by the piecemeal nature of the legislation in regard to the social services up to the beginning of the Second World War. Seed summarises the situation somewhat pessimistically

> "By 1939 social work as a movement was eclipsed, as a profession fragmented and as practice uninspiring."
> (Seed, 1973, 45)

The creation of the Welfare State in the forties and the growing affluence of the fifties served to mask for many the continuing social problems experienced by some. By the Sixties, however, Britain saw the re-emergence of community work and community development with 'the rediscovery of poverty' - the emphasis was on people being enabled to help themselves and the importance of

communities or groups of people rather than individuals. This in turn broadened out into a more structural analysis of what is wrong in society, with the individual often seen as the victim, rather than the prevailing individual pathology model of the past. A far cry from the theory which underpinned social work in the first half of the century.

We need also to look at the most recent set of organisational changes affecting social work. Against a background of proposed Local Government re-organisation (the Maud Report) and a Green Paper on the re-organisation of the National Health Service, the recommendations of the Seebohm Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services were implemented in 1971. An over concern about the multiplicity of different workers in the same family and the subsequent duplication of services led to the amalgamation of several departments into a unified Social Services Department (excluding Probation Departments except in Scotland). With this came the concept of the generic social worker, increasing professionalisation and increasing bureaucracy to support the organisation. The generic role (as an important ideological stance) is treated more fully in the next chapter, where its implications for practice are considered. Much criticism is now being levelled at the results of this re-organisation and some of the inherent difficulties within the system are demonstrated in the empirical work.

This then was the background for one group of workers. However, as these were non-qualified their work was most effected by the organisational setting and the implementation of policy decisions made at higher levels rather than by current debates about social work theory. Thus a discussion of casework or social work techniques is not relevant to the particular workers studied.For the most part they were left to operate on the basis of common sense, personal ability to relate to people and any past experience that they may have had.

Reference has already been made to the philosophies of the Welfare State in relation to Catholic attitudes.

Social work today is inevitably affected by the political climate, the gathering forces of minority pressure groups and the overall economy.

It is important though to recognise the great contrast in attitudes that exists between legislation for children as opposed to that for the elderly and the handicapped. Baker suggests that in contrast to children's legislation

> "Legislation for other groups of people at risk is neither as long-standing nor as comprehensive. For example it was not until the Health Services and Public Health Act 1968 that the elderly were defined as a specific group in need when there was a <u>general</u> directive to local authorities to 'promote the welfare of old people' (Smith, 1972, 55). Similarly, although the physically handicapped had been recognised as being in need, prior to the National Assistance Act 1948, very little had been done specifically for them. Once again, however, this legislation was phrased in very broad terms with authorities having the power to make arrangements for the 'general welfare' of the handicapped and it was not until 1960 that even this limited demand was made a specific <u>duty.</u> Where precise obligations are placed on social service teams in respect of the elderly and handicapped these tend to be focussed on providing practical assistance through home helps, mobile meals, physical aids and so on. This philosophy receives its ultimate expression in the routine institutionalization of both client groups, in direct contrast to the obligation on social workers to <u>prevent</u> this as far as children are concerned. Even the limited preventive facilities which do exist for these client groups, such as the provision of day care, or registration under the 1970 Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act, tend to place the onus on potential recipients to avail themselves of services, rather than making it the duty of social services departments to ensure those in need receive appropriate assistance."
>
> (Baker, 1977, 48)

It is, of course, with the elderly and handicapped that those particular workers I studied had most to do. Unfortunately an elitist view of child care and family casework as 'real' social work with the correspondingly implicit assumption that work with other clients is of secondary importance still pervades many Social Services Departments (Baker, 1977).

In concluding this section I would like to consider briefly some of the more philosophical issues raised about the scope and purpose of social services, and the

particular relationship that exists between the voluntary and statutory sectors.

Sainsbury suggests that no agreed definition exists about the scope or purpose of social services.

> "In very broad terms, they are communal services concerned with meeting certain social needs and alleviating certain kinds of social problems - in particular, needs and problems which require a general acceptance of mutual responsibility and which depend for their solution on the organising of social relationships. Forder (1975) has described the social services as based on collective action and provided for social and humanitarian rather than economic motives."
> (Sainsbury, 1977, xii/xiii)

Titmuss contributes two further ideas to the nature of social services with the view that they are 'manifestations of society's will to survive as an organic whole and of the expressed wish of all people to assist the survival of some people' and that for some consumers they are compensation for 'socially generated disservices' and 'socially caused diswelfare'. They are therefore concerned both with promoting social order and individual welfare - hence the inevitable but difficult mixture of control and benevolence.

Sainsbury also suggests that the needs with which the Personal Social Services are concerned are those which in the past were dealt with by family or personal action, and which demand 'a high level of adaptability' rather than uniform provision in the helping process. He makes reference to the Ingelby Committee of 1960 which said 'The state's principal duty is to assist the family in carrying out its proper functions'. This makes the Catholic fear that the state was undermining the authority of the family, and threatening their principle of subsidiarity, appear less valid tham might first be thought. However, one can raise serious doubts about the degree of adaptability possible within the modern bureaucracies in which most statutory social work intervention takes place. Uniformity of provision which is seen not to be applicable to these particular categories of need is in many cases the hallmark of bureaucracy!

I would agree with Sainsbury (1977) that there is a danger of too closely equating the term personal social services with social work - for example he quotes the very individualised work carried out by home helps, and also the fact that social workers become involved with neighbourhood groups where the aspect of individualisation is not always applied. But in some ways this only serves to demonstrate the difficulties inherent in too narrowly defining the term 'social work', so that definitions take on the restrictions and constraints of any ideal-type.

It is as well to remember though that despite the connections between ideas of philanthropy and welfare and those services provided under the aegis of personal social services, there is also a much deeper concern for questions of social maintenance and control

> "Statutory personal social services may indeed represent philanthropic intervention, but it is philanthropy tempered by an awareness of the risks to society as a whole if individual and group distress and alienation go unchecked."
> (Sainsbury, 1977, 4)

Who is to define the need? Is it the client or the person to whom he turns to have that need fulfilled?

> "The word 'need' .... may relate to a variety of values and experiences: it may be the experience of suffering, the demand of the individual for attention to his circumstances; its perceived intensity may be related to community values of various kinds, to the professional opinion of the expert, to the administrator's allocation of resources, to the influence of a power-group within society, and to political viability."
> (Sainsbury, 1977, 11)

Thus the client may find his need re-defined by the fieldworker on the basis of "professional expertise", or because of policy decisions. All three definitions could be different.

Ideology to some extent is displayed through social policy and there is some degree of consistency in terms of policy amongst the services - the possibility of generic training for social workers proving the point. But unlike Booth's great treatise 'In Darkest England and the Way Out'

> "Policies are essentially guidelines, rather than blueprints, for action."
> (Sainsbury, 1977, 19)

Indeed policies will be critically affected by the prevailing values of the times. These may be competitive or egalitarian, respectively promoting inequalities or favouring the powerless.

> "Between policy and action, however, lies a range of administrative decision and interpretations and an accumulation of traditions of practice; at any one time, therefore, within the personal social services one must expect to find some degree of disjunction between policy and practice."
> (Sainsbury, 1977, 19)

It is this disjunction of policy and practice or theory and practice which was evident in the empirical data, and will be dealt with at more length in Chapter 4.

Social policy has become embedded and embodied within legislation, but as we saw earlier this was of a very fragmented nature, each piece concerned with one specific client group in very individualistic terms. Thus the role of employees within such services as determined by the particular legislation - Sainsbury examples "therapeutic,custodial, controlling, protecting, supporting." He further suggests that there is no conceptual framework which unites these varying functions in a single role. (Sainsbury, 1977).

If this is true of the 'professionals', the lack of conceptual clarity for non-professionals is likely to be, and in fact is, even more marked. The Welfare Assistant and Neighbourhood Aids had very unclear roles defined for them, as did the V.H.O.

In terms of legislation the Local Authority Social Services Act 1970 (resulting from the Seebohm Report) is obviously highly significant. However, it is useful to call to mind Sainsbury's comments

> "The Act was merely an administrative device; it did not embody the spirit of the Seebohm Report nor its philosophy concerning the focus and authority of personal social service. In this respect, therefore, some current practices sometimes appear to be at a philosophical distance from the recommendations of the Report which were concerned with more than structural and administrative change. In particular, the

> Report advocated a philosophy of service based on community socialization and responsibility in addition to a family focus, and the blurring of boundaries so far as possible between those who ostensibly provide the services and those who use them."
>
> (Sainsbury, 1977, 75)

Sainsbury continues

> "To some extent, therefore, the community would help to decide the form and direction to be taken by the local authority service; the social worker's accountability was to extend to the local community in which he worked as well as to his organization and to his clients; the authority of services and social workers was to be infused with greater emphasis on the caring capacities of local citizens, to whom professional services would offer support and encouragement rather than an elitist form of leadership."
>
> (Sainsbury, 1977, 75)

This is not the philosophy that I saw reflected in my own data. Thus what might easily be taken for current philosophy is not apparently being translated into practice.

This raises the whole issue of professional v. non-professional. Social work over the past decades has striven for recognition as a profession. The professional association in the form of B.A.S.W. until very recently still strove to exclude non-qualified social workers. The ethos of the Seebohm Report seemed to be suggesting that although 'experts' would exist they were there to assist others to solve the problems, not to 'take over' totally. With this kind of denigration of the non-professional, it is clear that the position of those workers I studied - all non-qualified - was somewhat invidious. The promotion of welfare, Sainsbury suggests, is not in itself an expert function. It is we as a society, as a community, who should be involved in the type of social problems which it is normally envisaged that social workers and their colleagues deal with.

This is not an appropriate juncture to look at the failure of social work, suffice it to say that we seem to need a complete and radical re-appraisal of the whole idea of welfare- and how we should be promoting it. Legislation, post-Seebohm, has failed to do more than modify existing practices. (Sainsbury, 1977, 190).

As I suggested at the beginning of this section one can recognise certain current debates in this field - the issue of professional v. non-professional, that has already been touched upon; the issue of care v. control, which will be dealt with in relation to the Poor Law and philanthropy in the next section; and the issue of personal v. political. Regarding the latter Pearson (1975) states

> "Social work operates at the intersection of what is 'personal' and what is 'political'."
> (Quoted in Sainsbury, 1977, 174)

There is a struggle between those who see social work as being equated with personal contact focussed on individual problems, and those that see their role as political activists attempting to deal with the societal causes of those problems. I, like many others, would feel that a marriage of the two approaches is needed.

One cannot discuss the scope or purpose of social service without dealing with the distinctions made in relation to statutory and voluntary provision. (Although this point will also be taken up again later in the Chapter and in Chapter 4.) In the past charitable endeavour was the province of the church, and to some extent those beliefs are still bound up with much voluntary provision, whether overtly or not.

1978 saw the publication of the Report of the Wolfenden Committee on "The Future of Voluntary Organisation". Inevitably they deal with the role of the voluntary organisation

> "A voluntary organisation can act in the following ways in relation to the statutory system:-
>
> As a pressure group seeking changes in the policy and provision of other organisations.
>
> As the pioneer of new services with the intention that if successful they should be adopted more widely either by statutory or by voluntary agencies.
>
> As the provider of services complementary or additional or alternative to statutory services.
>
> As the sole provider of the services."
> (Wolfenden, 1978, 43)

The report defines 'complementary' as a service different in kind from statutory provision, 'additional' as supplementary, and ' alternative' as an either/or situation. All these distinctions are based on the consumer's perspective.

The Report itemizes four distinct systems which have been developed to meet social need: the informal system of social helping, the commercial, the statutory and the voluntary systems.

> "Although the voluntary system, as we have shown, was once the chief form of collective action outside the Poor Law, it can now best be seen in terms of the ways in which it complements, supplements, extends and influences the informal and statutory systems."
> (Wolfenden, 1978, 26)

But the words statutory and voluntary have been used without sufficient attention being paid to their definition. The Report makes the point that to use 'non-statutory' instead of 'voluntary' is

> "to define voluntary in too negative a way"
> (Wolfenden, 1979, 11)

and suggests a rigid antithesis between statutory and voluntary. The boundaries of statutory provision are in fact constantly moving and

> "the distinction is less one of substance but of accident of time and date."

The commercial system is not excluded either by using 'non-statutory.'

I think that care has to be taken in this matter of too closely defining the boundaries of voluntary and statutory, particularly when one views the workers within the Social Services group. They were rarely involved in statutory work themselves (except when dealing with provisions under the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act and admissions to old people's homes) even though they were within a Statutory agency.

'Voluntary' too is a word not without problems of interpretation - one can use it in the sense of being opposed to statutory as we have just discussed, but also as opposed to professional. Thirdly, it can be taken as opposed to being paid. These three different interpretations may of course often overlap.

Another aspect of the role of voluntary organisations seems to be the more nebulous one of an educative or moral role. The Wolfenden Report stresses the significance of the existence of voluntary provision for what it stands for as well as for the actual service it provides. In some ways this is a re-iteration of Beveridge's ideas in his 'Voluntary Action' Report to which Wolfenden refers

> "the importance of the moral contribution of the voluntary sector in 'making and keeping something other than the pursuit of gain as the dominant force in society."
>
> (Wolfenden, 1978, 20)

This is also reflected in the comments by Roger Wilson submitted to the Beveridge Report that

> "the educative value of voluntary organisations and the training they give in social responsibility"
>
> (Wolfenden, 1978, 20)

is of prime importance. Perhaps the very title of the Church of England's Board of Social Responsibility reflects the acceptance of this role.

Giles Darvill in a Volunteer Centre Publication takes a healthy if somewhat cynical view of the attitudes of Social Service Departments towards volunteer programmes, with which it is apposite to end this discussion. He summarises the prevailing attitudes as follows :-

- 'the abstention attitude', where professional and voluntary services function separately
- 'the call girl attitude', which looks upon voluntary organisations as a shameful but necessary convenience
- 'the suburban attitude' (most common) in which the department requires polite, obedient, cheap and respectful service from voluntary workers
- 'the King Henry VIII attitude' by which volunteers are encouraged to experiment and lose their heads if their experiments are not successful
- 'the intimate enemy attitude' in which there is conflict but it is brought out into the open and regarded as healthy.

(Darvill, 1975)

These attitudes I feel can equally well be applied to other voluntary organisations.

It is at this interface - between the voluntary and the statutory - that the four groups I studied meet. However, it should be underlined that the workers themselves made little if any reference to voluntary/ statutory division unless prompted by me. It is self-evidently part of the backcloth, but not a part which impinged on the workers very consciously it seemed.

Sainsbury suggests that the voluntary-statutory partnership of post-Seebohm is "partly based on the recognition of difference rather than on the assumption of similarity". (Sainsbury, 1977, 102)

There is a considerable residue from the past in this area - not always very complimentary towards voluntary bodies.

> "Charitable work offered a philosophical balance between Christian belief in the importance of good works, a concern to maintain the social order at a time of growing economic disparity between rich and poor, and (particularly exemplified by the work of the Charity Organisation Society, established in 1869) the desire to apply a scientific approach to problems of individual inadequacy in social functioning....
>
> Those who, it was thought, would misuse help were to be relegated to the rigous of the Poor Law; those who would use help to achieve greater self-sufficiency would be assisted by the private charities. The impact of this philosophical position on recipients of help is described in the couplet:
>
> 'The organized charity scrimped
> and iced
> In the name of a cautious statistical
> Christ'".
>
> (Sainsbury, 1977, 100)

And so to the Poor Law.

<u>Government Provision for the Single Homeless - Reception Centres</u>

> "The important consideration for social administration is not whether people are, or should remain, free to follow their own way of life but whether those who seek help obtain it."
>
> (Stewart, 1975, 163)

The present day Reception Centres are the descendents of the Poor Law Casual Wards and it is in this area of provision for the single homeless

that historical precedents remain very strong. Vagrancy is viewed judgmentally, although I would not at all wish to equate the quality of provision made now with that of the past:

The theory underpinning the Centres is related to the whole network of Social Security Provision - they are there to provide a safety net when people have 'fallen out' of the system and to attempt to return them within the scope of its provision. Resettlement is a core philosophy.

It is therefore necessary, as with the other sections, to look back to the 19th Century and trace briefly the development of the Poor Law and Social Security Legislation, together with the last vestiges of the punitive Vagrancy Laws.

Historically any measures used to deal with the problem of 'vagrancy' were punitive, retributive and compulsorily imposed. Any modern provision remains affected by the institutions and attitudes of the past.

In the Supplementary Benefits Commission Annual Report 1976 an account of previous attitudes is given -

> "From the Middle Ages to the 19th Century the basic response to poverty as exemplified by the "wandering poor" was one of punishment, an attitude only slowly modified"
> (D.H.S.S. 1977, 62)

They continue by saying

> "Statutes over the period (14th to 19th Centuries) sought to establish some national control of poor relief and to regulate the activities of "vagrants".....
> (D.H.S.S. 1977, 62)

Gradually the earlier punitive measures were modified by an acceptance of State responsibility for 'the casualties of society' and during the time of Elizabeth I, statutes laid down the principles on which the Poor Law was based. As the Report describes

> "work must be found for the able-bodied unemployed; the helpless must be a charge on the community; and the unit responsible should be the parish, supervised by the Justices of the Peace"
> (D.H.S.S. 1977, 62)

Although financial provision was made by means of a compulsory 'poor rate', nevertheless now that the burden rested on the locality, it was the aspect of cost that began to govern the legislation. People were not so worried about the actual 'vagrancy' but the cost of either maintaining a person or returning him to his own community was seen as a burden to be minimised by maintaining a deterrent approach to those who wandered from their own parish. The Supplementary Benefits Commission Report cites the example of

> "the Act of 1774 empowered quarter sessions to order a public whipping and six months' imprisonment for any woman wandering and begging, who gave birth to a child in a parish to which she did not belong."
> (D.H.S.S. 1977, 63)

And with the 19th Century came the alternative to returning vagrants to their own parish in the shape of imprisonment and long sentences. It is the Act of 1824 that remains the basis of modern legislation on vagrancy, although the Vagrancy Act of 1935 has modified the offence of 'sleeping rough'.

The Poor Law envisaged that "any destitute wayfarer and wanderer" would be dealt with by the Casual Wards to be provided by local authorities. These were scattered throughout the country - a walking distance apart. Often cell like structures, reminiscent of prison accommodation. A fact that was more than co-incidental.

It is easy to denigrate the provisions and ideologies of the Poor Law, but it is important to remember the context in which the Poor Law emerged. Norman McCord in an article 'The Poor Law and Philanthropy' reminds us

> "If we are to understand the nature and the significance of the Poor Law we must always remember that in nineteenth century society the state played a very different role from that which it plays today."
> (McCord, 1976, 3)

The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act was the product of a society which was facing unprecedented change and pressures associated with an Industrial Revolution and

its concomitant population growth. It had little in the way of Government and official administration, and therefore private endeavour remained of the utmost importance, i.e., philanthropy boomed.

McCord (1976) discusses this philanthropic activity under three heads - 'organised societies, extraordinary charitable exertions to meet some temporary need, and the private charity extended by individual man and women'. The Nineteenth Century was attempting to understand what was wrong with the society and to do something about it, but as McCord suggests it is inaccurate to think that these were new problems. Two basic approaches were adopted - official Poor Law machinery and unofficial philanthropy - but a continuity of attitudes and approach is traceable from pre-industrial times to post-revolution. The Poor Law therefore was only a part of the society's attempt to deal with its problem

> "When, therefore, we consider the Poor Law's operations we must remember that we are dealing, not with the sum total of that society's activities in the relief of poverty and suffering, but only with the lesser part of that activity which was carried out through that official agency. It is not possible to estimate with any accuracy the total sums of money expended on voluntary relief measures, still less possible to estimate the amount of time and energy so employed, but it is very clear that unofficial far outweighed official exertion."
>
> (McCord, 1976, 5)

Thus we see mirrored the blend of statutory and voluntary provision that characterises the field of social work today, particularly in the field of the single homeless. However, perhaps what is different is that in the 19th Century it was often the same individuals behind each approach - not so today. McCord says

> "It would, however, give a misleading picture to suppose that the official Poor Law machinery and unofficial philanthropy existed in two different spheres in the nineteenth century. Throughout the period British society was neither democratic nor egalitarian, and in practice official activity for the care of

> the poor were controlled by much the same people. Those who sat as Poor Law guardians would very often be the same people who sat on the committees which controlled schools, hospitals and dispensaries, and the other varied forms of charitable organisations; they would also often be among those who took the lead in sponsoring local voluntary efforts in times of disaster or communal celebration."
>
> (McCord, 1976, 5)

This active co-operation between the official and unofficial is something to which I will return shortly.

With the slow expansion of Government and increasing central 'interference', voluntary activity was often preferred as it was locally controlled. Tension between central and local authority was characteristic of the age, and already 19th Century central government was associated with 'bureaucratic interference'! One somewhat unfortunate dimension of the distinction between official and unofficial help, and the distribution of work between them, was the linking of deserving and undeserving with certain help. Talking of the close co-operation between the Charity Organisation Society and the Poor Law authorities, McCord writes

> "This co-operation was often based on the belief that unofficial philanthropy, based on a close examination of the needs of individual cases, was the best method of providing help to those who were in need through no fault of their own, leaving the official machinery to cope with those whose wants arose from circumstances for which they themselves were largely responsible."
>
> (McCord, 1976, 6)

By the twentieth century, this kind of co-operation paved the way for much state provision (e.g., mental hospitals). But stigmatization of those helped remained.

In the late sixteenth century legislation had prescribed branding, flogging and imprisonment followed by banishment for 'masterful idle beggars', and at the same time it wanted parishes to identify their poor and raise funds to support them. As Paul Corrigan points out in an article on Deviance and Deprivation

> "The sturdy beggars of the distant past, typically bands of unemployed workers fighting for some form of decent living, the vagabonds of the sixteenth century, the migrant labourers

> of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the homeless men of the present, have presented a constant challenge to the norms of property, work and domesticity on which UK society is founded. And the way they have been treated has constantly revealed the close connection between social welfare and punishment, between relieving poverty and policing it."
>
> (Corrigan, 1978, 283)

The 'vagrant' is seen as deviating from the norms of society and as such his way of life should be made to seem uninviting and abnormal. The vagrant or his modern successor - the single homeless man or woman - is still 'branded' as different by a specialised form of provision for them alone, which even the D.H.S.S. has begun to recognise has ostracised him from the very society into which they have attempted to 'resettle' him. Stewart also refers to the fact that vagrancy changed from an accepted way of life

> "to that of a residual problem thought to be caused by some social pathology."
>
> (Stewart, 1975, 146)

The D.H.S.S. in the form of the Supplementary Benefits Commission have a responsibility - a duty - to

> "Make provision whereby persons without a settled way of living may be influenced to lead a more settled life"
>
> (Schedule 5 of Supplementary Benefits Act 1976)

This they do by providing Reception Centres and Re-establishment Centres - the latter being

> "for the purpose of helping men who, because of long-term unemployment, have become unacceptable to potential employers and appear unsuitable for the more sophisticated forms of rehabilitation and vocational training provided by the Employment Service Agency and the Training Services Agency."
>
> (Schedule 34 & Schedule 4(1) of the Supplementary Benefits Act 1966)

However they stress that this is not a duty to provide accommodation for the single homeless as such, nor to provide long term residential support.

> "The Commission's job is mainly to provide an income for those entitled to their help. For a small minority that income is not of much use unless they are first given shelter. The aim then should be to assist them to obtain the help most appropriate to their needs, be it more permanent housing of a <u>normal</u> kind, hospital treatment &c."
>
> (D.H.S.S. 1976, 10.3)(My underlining)

Note the value judgment that their way of life is by implication abnormal.

But these Reception Centres have often been situated by force of circumstances (e.g., available premises) in isolated situations, which are not conducive to re-integrating anyone back into the society. Even the 1976 Report refers in rather emotive terms to

> "windswept hillsides to which no one would consign vulnerable humanity"
>
> (D.H.S.S. 1977, 1.25)

That same report (Cmnd 6910) sees a policy statement in respect of 'People "Without a Settled Way of Living"'. One of the most significant points to emerge from this is the somewhat ironical wish to see responsibility for the single homeless in Reception Centres returned to Local Authorities and voluntary organisations. Since historically one can detect in this very field the tension of growing central government control over the local authority provision - this seems to be a reversal of policy which has just been fulfilled. There remains only one Centre still administered by a Local Authority on behalf of the Supplementary Benefits Commission, out of twenty-one.

The 1977 Report asks that Social Services Departments, Housing Departments and the local Area Health Authority should assume their rightful responsibility in respect of this work.

So from their development under the National Assistance Act of 1948, Reception Centres have continued to be provided first by the National Assistance Board, then from 1966 by the Ministry of Social Security and now under the umbrella of the Department of Health and Social Security. In 1964 as a result of a review by the N.A.B. on Homeless Single Persons they reaffirmed a policy of continued provision of a small number of Reception Centres

> "sited, where possible, in or near the larger centres of population, and to improve the facilities available for helping men to be resettled."
>
> (D.H.S.S. 1977, 5.17)

One important aspect of this help is the power to make grants to voluntary organisations under Para 4. of Schedule 5 Supplementary Benefits Act 1976. It is useful to look here at what was said of the role of such organisations

> "We are convinced that voluntary organisations have a continuing and very important part to play in providing shelter and resettlement for people "without a settled way of living." They can provide a range of accommodation, from the barest shelters taking men who come in off the street and may return tomorrow night to sleep on benches and under arches, to small group homes and hostels of various kinds, bedsitters and housing of <u>conventional</u> sorts. They can shelter all sorts of people, ranging from homeless men and women to those who have chosen to make their homes in hostels from which they go regularly to work, ex-prisoners, ex-mental patients, youngsters who have recently left their homes to which they may shortly return, and many others. They can provide and combine various forms of help including housing, work-shops in which people can make things for the hostel and acquire simple skills and regular habits of work, counselling and care of various kinds, bringing in local doctors, social workers and others with important skills to contribute."
>
> (D.H.S.S, 1977, 5.27)(My underlining).

Although the Report is in many ways a very real attempt to establish a positive and responsible approach to this particular category of need, it still constantly re-inforces the view that those "without a settled way of life" are unconventional and in some way deviant.

One controversial question raised by the Report was that relating to Specialist offices for users of lodging houses and hostels. Such specialist offices date from the 1950's. They are opposed on principle by many voluntary organisations led by CHAR (now the Campaign for Single Homeless People).

> "Their main argument is that the fundamental aim of those providing a social service for lodging house users should be to provide them with the means and opportunity to live normal lives in the community. They hold that the men's image of themselves as social failures is compounded by the specialist office system which seems to have the main operational objective of "servicing"

> lodging-house residents rather than moving them on to community-related social services."
> (D.H.S.S. 1977, 5.45)

On the other side, it is argued that specialist offices enable staff to be specifically trained and to gain expertise in dealing with this particular group of clients, that fraud risks are minimised, that it keeps those with 'anti-social habits' away from general callers and enables closer relationships to be maintained with all other organisations working in the field. This question is still under review.

Stewart reminds us that

> "The disabilities of the single homeless bring them within the orbit of the universal services, but they are also responsible for preventing the men from using those services."
> (Stewart, 1975, 158)

Returning to the issue of responsibility for providing reception centre services I would like to quote from the 1976 policy statement (Ch.5)

> "A start has been made in creating even closer links between voluntary organisations and reception centres, because it is accepted that some voluntary projects have more to offer (if only emotionally) to "the man in the gutter", whereas reception centres have better facilities in which to concentrate resettlement once the man has been "weaned" "off the road" (even if not yet "off the bottle".) Closer links with local authority social services and housing departments may lead to a recognition by all Directors of Social Services and Housing Managers that reception centres, and associated voluntary projects, house and support men for whom <u>they</u> have a responsibility."
> (D.H.S.S. 1977, 5.49) (Original emphasis)

Clearly the SBC wish to relinquish their responsibility in this area, and see a co-operative effort both by local authority social services, housing departments and the Area Health Authority <u>together</u> with the voluntary organisations as assuming the mantle. However, one may well wish to take issue with the kind of value-judgments implicit in the above paragraph.

Turning to the most recent Reportof 1977 (Cmnd 7392) the SBC consider that their proposals for long term policy outlined in Ch.5 of the 1976 Report have been well received. They also draw attention to the most recent legislation in the area - the Housing (Homeless

Persons) Act 1977 which came into effect in England and Wales on 1.12.77. They point out that many within reception centres would qualify for assistance under this Act. I feel it is debatable whether this will work out in practice.

They appear to see their present role as one of advocacy for "the homeless and rootless" - I would suggest, a comparatively new approach for them. In this, they refer to the latest inquiry over a proposed reception centre resettlement unit at Poplar, where community opposition has been quite strong.

To summarise then the current policy of the SBC with regard to Reception Centres we can do no better than quote from the concluding paragraphs of Section 12 of their 1977 Report

> "To repeat the views expressed in our 1976 Annual Report; first, shelter and care must be available in every city for homeless and rootless people; second, that shelter must be provided in ways which do not isolate people from the settled community or impose a humiliating stigma upon them, but which enable them to move back into the community when they are ready and willing to do so; and third, the main responsibility for ensuring that such shelter is available should lie with the housing authorities. Services concerned with work, income, medical care and social welfare cannot be effective until this basic need is met."
>
> "At present, our reception centres help to plug some of the holes created by deficiencies in the services provided by local housing and social services and health authorities for these most needy people in our society. However, despite the dedication of the staff, these centres foster in the public mind the impression that their residents are social outcasts for whom a special, quarantined service is required, distinct from the shelter and care which the rest of us are entitled to use. For this reason, as soon as the services of the housing authorities and the voluntary bodies can be properly developed and co-ordinated with other services, we should cease to provide reception centre services..."
>
> (D.H.S.S. 1978, 12.14 - 12.15)

We should be grateful that at least there is an attempt to define clearly state policy towards this particular group. It does remain to be seen how this policy will be translated into practice. Unfortunately,

the prejudices of the past die hard. The men who use reception centres are stereotyped and still regarded by the majority of the population as people to be avoided. As a society we still retain our ambivalence - should "they" be cared for or controlled. Back we come to one of the central debates of modern social work, to the ideas suggested by Paul Corrigan that social welfare and punishment, relieving poverty and policing it, are closely connected. Seed (1973, 61) talks of "an interesting similarity of attitudes to 'charity' in the early 1830's and social services in the early 1950's."

How do we respond when we see the "down" and "out" hovering on street corners? What do we say to our children in response to their questioning? For it is the response of the ordinary people in society which ultimately will determine state policy in this particular area in its translation into practice. The society of the 19th Century may be very different from that of today, but we are still faced with many of the same problems - problems that in many cases are a product of the very society that claims to be solving them.

John Stewart reminds us

> "People do not travel the roads destitute in the manner of former years in anything like the same numbers. The personal social services are not directed towards "vagrants". The former Poor Law and voluntary services, the actual legacy of the institutions themselves, have moulded more than a type of response from the allegedly universal services. They are, in part, responsible for modern vagrancy. As other opportunities diminish, the vagrant becomes dependent on what the services deem it proper to provide."
>
> (Stewart, 1975, 2)

The very term single homeless has problems of definition - based as it is not on any identifiable sub-culture but merely in terms of the accommodation which such people use. As I suggest in Chapter 6 of the thesis there is a danger that the term is taken to mean much more than this. Stewart too warns against this tendency

> "Because they are poor, or unemployed, or just looking for somewhere to stay, one might feel it more appropriate to group these men within the context of a much wider debate about inequalities and disadvantages, centred on housing and income. The flag of convenience 'homeless single persons', has come to be regarded by many as definitive, a generic term to identify an attitude of mind,categorising a discrete class of people. Examination leads one to conclude that such a wrongheaded concept may be dangerous, for within old peoples' homes, houses in multiple occupation and cheap hotel rooms are many people who differ in no marked degree from those making use of hostels or lodging houses. Those social workers and administrators who are prepared to accept that users of the latter accommodation are conditioned by a distinct pathology into making use of the lodging house world are perpetuating a Poor Law concept of vagrancy which identified certain people only in an attempt to control them."
>
> (Stewart, 1975, 5)

It is perhaps appropriate to end by reflecting on the fact that there still remains a role for voluntary organisations in acting as a bridge between these people and those in the very statutory organisations who are there to help them.

> "The voluntary organisation is a two-way bridge between homeless single men in hostels and those sleeping rough, and then between the men and the personal social services provided by the local authorities, the NHS and central government."
>
> (Stewart, 1975, 159)

The Historical Relationship of Church and State as Portrayed in the Relationship between Religion and Social Work.

Having examined the historical development of the four institutions in question, it is useful at this juncture to look more generically at the overall relationship which has existed between church and state.

To recapitulate -

Even as far back as late Greek and early Roman society systems of public action existed, whereby the State helped those who could not help themselves. For example in the Greek City States the poor were wholly

supported out of public resources. In Rome, free corn or food was made available. Alongside this developed a sense of responsibility towards orphans and the sick poor. There is evidence that the classical writers were already giving thought to social work principles - for example, Hesiod (c.700 BC) advocated neighbourly assistance, Aristotle warned against the indiscriminate distribution of the public funds, Cicero laid down 3 conditions with regard to the giving of help (a) it should not harm the person one would benefit, (b) it should not exceed one's means, (c) it should have regard to merit. So already we have the principle of deserving and undeserving rearing its ugly head! Early Jewish communities were bound by Hebraic and Levitical law which urged the relief of the stranger, and then the widow and fatherless were added. Three gifts of corn were available for the poor (corners of the field, the gleanings and part of the tithe). There is a strong biblical tradition that requires us to love one's neighbour (e.g., Leviticus 19th, Demteronomy, the Prophets as well as the N.T). By the Christian era there was a well-developed system of social help - the stranger and wayfarer was accepted into the home or paid for in inns, alms were collected and distributed under supervision to those in distress. The seven corporal works of mercy were born. The social responsibility of the church was institutionalised in the office of deacon.

In fact as Heasman points out

> "The growth of a sense of responsibility for other people runs parallel with the development of social life."
> (Heasman, 1965, 20)

One extremely valuable source with regard to the relationship of religion and social work is in Reinhold Niebuhr's book 'The Contribution of Religion to Social Work' (1932) on which I have relied heavily in the following passages. Niebuhr argues that despite the failure of the early church to promote its first 'communistic experience' in any permanent way, this did provide a model of "what heights of social responsibility men can rise when driven by religious passion". Unfortunately the emphasis on philanthrophy, that the church's critical attitude on wealth led them to adopt

was not a panacea.

> "If the philanthropy of the Middle Ages, in its acceptance of the caste system of society, its glorification of the sentimental charities of the traditional "lady bountiful", and its general conservatism, will seem to many a revelation of the weakness of religion rather than its strength in cultivating social imagination, it must be remembered that the medieval period had a static conception of society which made it quite impossible to think of social problems in terms of their progressive alienation. Yet it must be admitted....that a religiously motivated social passion is always under the temptation of taking a social situation for granted and expressing tender social attitudes within terms set by a prevailing social system."
>
> (Niebuhr, 1932, 7)

Despite the trend that I alluded to in an earlier section in which almsgiving degenerated into a means of rich sinners buying their way to heaven, there remained "a religiously inspired sense of social solidarity and mutual responsibility" not often achieved now. The Protestant Reformation was to change much of this. Neibuhr partly explains this by saying

> "The sacramental church has a feeling for both the church and the state as a social organism which the more individual types of religious mysticism lack".
>
> (Niebuhr, 1932, 7)

Luther did much to destroy the philanthropic spirit believing that love should be spontaneous and not under the guidance or coercion of an institution. Although efforts were made to alleviate the miseries of the poor there was not a general system of Protestant philanthropy established.

Niebuhr alludes to the fact that it was during this very period of the Reformation that the Catholic church developed its charities in ways that were to become the basis of their modern institutional help.

The Quakers should however be distinguished from the other Protestant groups for

> "the Quaker type of piety has probably produced more sensitive ethical and social attitudes than any other kind of Protestant religion."
>
> (Niebuhr, 1932, 12)

But this distinction between Protestant and Catholic is not purely of theological note - it has had considerable effect on the course of social work in England. Henry VIII's confiscation of church property etc., led to a dislocation and disintegration of charitable enterprises built up during the Middle Ages.

> "The later controversies between the Establishment and Nonconformity made it difficult to restore the social services of the church. The secularization of social work, which has been a general consequence of Protestantism, therefore achieved a higher degree of consistency in England than anywhere else in Europe."
> (Niebuhr, 1932, 13)

A point for those against the ecumenical trend to ponder is that there is no doubt that the disunity of the church made secularization of social work imperative.

The Protestant Reformation placed responsibility for social welfare, according to Miller (1961), squarely on the shoulders of Government (which they expected would be Christian!) Thus welfare was defined as a public responsibility distinct from the work of the church as such. Miller continues by making an interesting distinction between the two groups. Protestantism he sees as lacking for a long time the monastic-type organizational arrangements that were the traditional strength of the Roman Catholic church. Instead they placed an over-emphasis on the religious value of thrift and industry. He contends that

> "Protestantism seems to have supported a dual emphasis to the effect that the state must assume responsibility for social welfare, but that since the state will never meet all the need, the church - as well as private individuals with resources and Christian motivations - must continue to do as much as possible."
> (Miller, 1961, 43)

The Catholic Church was more involved in directly sponsoring organized charity.

I suggested earlier that one of the inherent weaknesses in religiously inspired philanthropy was that philanthropy was divorced from social justice.

> "The most obvious weakness of religion in social action is that it seems always to create a spirit of generosity within terms of a social system without developing an idealism vigorous or astute enough to condemn the social system in the name of a higher justice."
> (Niebuhr, 1932, 18 - 1a)

Niebuhr talks of the tragic paradox which means that injustice is permitted to continue because the Christian conscience would have to violate its own perfectionist ideal of love to resist it.

> "Religious philanthropy, therefore, continues to attempt the expression of generous impulses without raising ultimate questions about the causes of social maladjustments which create the necessity of charity."
> (Niebuhr, 1932, 33)

I would argue quite strongly that this position is changing in contemporary society - witness the work for instance of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace - but there is no doubt that it was true in the past.

Young and Ashton raise the same point in their discussion of the Evangelicals of the 19th Century.

> "Evangelicalism meant a way of life, as well as a religious outlook. To understand the humanitarian aspect of the evangelical movement, both within and without the Church of England, one must appreciate the ethical demands it made on its supporters."
> (Young and Ashton, 1956, 29)

They expected the upper and middle classes to set an example of moral behaviour to the lower classes, not as had happened in the 18th Century! Business morality and religious morality overlapped - thus

> "Philanthropy was the bridge in many cases between their business dealings and their Christian Conscience."
> (Young and Ashton, 1956, 29)

The Evangelical gentry not only gave of their money, but also of their time - they enjoyed 'slumming.'

> "But while they were willing to give themselves they were unwilling to tolerate any major change in social conditions, which might have prevented much of the distress they sought to relieve. It was inevitable, they conceded, that there should be some flaws in the social system, but these could be amended by charity and good will. They would not admit that there were any forms of poverty and distress that could not be alleviated

> by Christian philanthropy, with the poor laws handy at a last resort. As a result, religious zeal was not as a rule directed to social evils."
>
> (Young and Ashton, 1956, 30)

The Evangelicals maintained a sense of other-wordliness which was quite acceptable for those that had but not for those that had not!

> "The evangelicals insisted that the trials of this world were to be borne patiently; they were unimportant compared with the joys in store in the world to come."
>
> (Young and Ashton, 1956, 30)

But notwithstanding this Young and Ashton point out that

> "The Evangelicals were by far the most active members of the established Church and exercised tremendous influence from the end of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. It has been said that more than any other single factor the evangelical movement in the Church of England 'transformed the whole character of English society and imparted to the Victorian Age that moral earnestness which was its distinguishing characteristic' (E.Halevy, Victorian Years - 1951 - p.437)".
>
> (Young and Ashton, 1956, 28)

But what of the Catholics of this era? Catholic social thought at this time can readily be identified with the figure of Cardinal Manning - although his contribution was rather outstanding and unfortunately not always repeated in his successors as Archbishop of Westminster. For example Vaughan, his immediate successor to the see did not share his enthusiasm for philanthropy. Manning espoused a very 'practical Christianity' and had an overwhelming sympathy for the underdog, the worthless and the ill treated. According to his biographer, McClelland, Manning wrote a vigorous indictment of the social awareness of the Catholic Church as he had found it. He had a saying that 'all human conflict is ultimately theological'. McClelland comments

> "The phrase gives the key to all of Manning's social action and thought. For him nothing, no matter how trivial or weighty, could be divested of its theological significance. His Christianity extended to and embraced all states and conditions of human nature and existence. The remedy of social evil was an application into practice of the principles of Christianity. He had little patience with ecclesiastics, such as Newman,

> who could keep their Christianity in a kind of watertight compartment and remain oblivious to the world around them."
> (McClelland, 1962, 22)

For Manning theory and practice or theology and practice should be indistinguishable. Unfortunately, his views, as I have indicated earlier, were not readily accepted by the 'old catholics'. McClelland (1962) quotes an earlier biographer on this point. 'Social Catholicism' was

> "the most hateful of new doctrines to those faithful who look upon the Church as the guardian of their interests, and upon religion, as the best safeguard of property."
> (F. de Pressense - Cardinal Manning - 1897 London - p.209)

Manning felt that private charity was inadequate and that the poor had a right to expect help from the state. Christianity was to be a 'code of action' not a 'code of belief'! Unfortunately Manning was not typical of his fellow Catholics of the day. Hollis mentions that the first half of the nineteenth century was not a deeply creative one for catholic social thought - it had been more concerned with the defense of regimes which had been restored.

> "Manning had been the Pope's constant advisor on social questions and the Cardinal's activities in England confirmed the Pope's impression that active sympathy for working class aspirations produced a climate in which workers could pursue their quest for Social Justice with the moral encouragement of the Church and thus within its active ranks. Manning's contribution was unique, for the majority of the older English Catholics were remote from the Social Struggle and unsympathetic with the Irish labourers in factory and mine .....The English Catholics of the nineteenth century still had among them the memory of the catacombs. It was not a generation since they had emerged from persecution, and the storm of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act was a reminder to them how easily a spirit of persecution might again be aroused against them. Most of them, it is safe to say, did not know that the Church had any special teaching upon social questions, and many of them did not wish to know it. They preferred to say that, since England was an overwhelmingly Protestant country, it was not possible to solve these problems upon Catholic lines, and to give their mild support to one or other of the regular political parties without making any attempt to influence its policy."
> (Hollis, 1953, 822)

However, one group continued whenever possible to serve human need in the name of the Catholic Church and that was the Religious Orders. They seemed to fulfil not only a practical role but also a symbolic one - they were symbolic of the institutions of the Church. (Borromeo, 1968 - 'Can Sisters be Relevant'.) This has changed now as the role of the lay Christian is re-appraised. But one fact is indisputable - in terms of sheer numbers - their contribution in the past was enormous.

Unfortunately the Catholic Church in England has developed in such a way that in an attempt to maintain structures they have supported a system which promotes inequality. This returns us to the issues of philanthropy and social justice.

For many the coming of the Welfare State was acclaimed as the end of the need for charity. The existence of charities was most commonly justified in terms of pioneering and gap-filling, (Nightingale 1973). Nightingale outlines four different sets of relationships between charities and the State that summarise the position very well.

1. The charity that is doing work which the Welfare State will never do (e.g., welfare of animals)
2. The charity doing the work that the state might agree to undertake, though not necessarily now (the majority today)
3. The charity doing work which the state should be obliged to undertake now if the charity collapsed (e.g., R.N.L.I).
4. The charity doing work already being done, perfectly or imperfectly, by the state itself (e.g., N.S.P.C.C).

Charity had its earliest associations with religious motivation. Most writers would agree that at the end of the 19th Century - the greatest single urge to help the less fortunate and the change in social work approach sprang from deep religious experience. (Young and Ashton 1956, 47). One can summarise the whole relationship of religion and social work in Miller's words

> "To the church, despite its faults and failures, is due much of the credit for inspiring and nurturing the impulses which gave birth to modern social welfare and to the discipline of social work."
> (Miller, 1961, 144)

So what does the Church continue to offer - this I will deal with more fully in a later section on the Contemporary Role of the Church - (Ch4. p.4.6) suffice it to say that in some respects it's role is unaltered from that of the past. It can pioneer new areas of provision, it can offer services which the State fails to do adequately (for example - the single homeless), it can experiment more easily with new types of social work and discover wider social responsibilities than are currently recognised by the State. Niebuhr would see this as a very proper province for any agency or institution based on an ideal.

> "Religion does create a conscience which is quick to understand social need and ready to move towards its alleviation, if not ready to work for its elimination. But when State is very much involved in the elimination of social need - the "age old impulses of religion must express themselves less officially."
> (Niebuhr 1972, 16).

<u>The Four Groups in the Context of the Welfare State</u>

The comparative euphoria of the Fifties and Sixties, after the establishment of the Welfare State, has now given way to a more realistic (even if more pessimistic) view of society. The fallacy that the Welfare State has removed the necessity for charity has been exposed for what it was. In one sense the State is beginning to rely even more heavily on voluntary bodies in a time of economic recession, rather than less.

Both the Social Services Department and the Reception Centre have grown out of the development of the Welfare State. In the case of the latter, Local Authorities are being challenged to accept the responsibility for single homeless provision which at the moment is carried by Central Government. However, these organisations are unable to meet even the overt needs of clients who fall within their catchment areas, never mind those which remain latent. It is quite obvious that if all voluntary bodies and individual volunteers were to be withdrawn many thousands of people

throughout the country would be the poorer for it, and the statutory bodies would be unable to fulfil their responsibilities to them.

It is in this context therefore that the two other groups studied are to be seen. Religiously motivated and based organisations (in this case Christian) have traditionally, as we saw, been the accepted helpers of those in need. Even if actively discouraged by the State, I would suggest that many would continue to try to implement the precepts of their Founder to Love Their Neighbour in a practical way. Paradoxically, the fact that as a society England has become increasingly non-religious or secularized seems to highlight the necessity even more for the continued involvement of those inspired by religious beliefs. As long as there are Religious Orders and sects such as the Salvation Army, they will have a major role to play in the alleviation of all forms of need, but this should in no way abrogate the responsibilities of the State.

CHAPTER FOUR : THE IDEOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS OF PRACTICE

> "Ideologies are necessary to bridge the gap between mind and matter or thought and action"
>
> (Berkhof 1969)

> "The most successful ideology is one which is not recognisable as such, a system of beliefs and assumptions so much a part of everyday life that it is not even identifiable, much less open to question."
>
> (Anthony, 1977)

Behind the practice displayed by each of the four groups under observation there lay an ideology. It is the purpose of this chapter to explore the relationship between those ideologies and the actual practice which they inform. Inevitably there is a difference between the theology per se and the practice of individuals who subscribe to that particular set of beliefs, as there is between theory and practice within the statutory sectors.

Theory should inform practice but in reality it is distorted by structural considerations, economic restraints, power and authority relationships and the very nature of the theory itself. By examining the pressures or influences brought to bear on theology and ideology one can begin to uncover the nature of the distortion which they produce in practice. These pressures and influences are not static but change with history.

As Yeo suggests there is a valid distinction to be made

> "between ideology and organization, between aspiration and practice, between what the society wished to be believed about itself and what existed on the ground."
>
> (Yeo, 1973, 210)

Too often in the past people have tried to divorce theory and practice - Plant in Community and Ideology points out the falsity of such a position.

> "There is a tendency to assume that activities and the language used in their description are only externally related - that they are separate and separable things. On such an assumption those who are of a practical rather than a theoretical cast of mind can thus be spared

> the effort of attending too closely to the theoretical and conceptual discussion of their activities. Such a picture of the relation of theory to practice is mistaken."
> (Plant, 1974, 3/4)

Unfortunately ideology has become a somewhat hacknied term attributed with a wide range of meanings. In what sense am I using the word? Plain dictionary definitions produce the following explanations:

(a) a set of beliefs

(b) ideas at the basis of some economic or political theory

(c) a manner of thinking characteristic of a class or individual

Strauss et al. offer a brief historical review of its useage:-

> "Social scientists have for some time used the term 'ideology' to refer to any body of systematically related beliefs held by a group of people, providing that the system of beliefs is sufficiently basic to the group's way of life. The word was coined during the eighteenth century and was first used to refer to political beliefs....The term has long since been extended far beyond the political arena and has lost, at least in its technical sense, its former connotations of falsehood and illusion."
> (Strauss et al.1964, 8)

Inherent is the idea of ideology informing practice, but hopefully it has now been denuded of its derogatory overtones. However, it is still seen within religious circles as being something less than faith and within social science circles as something less than science. Talking of the work of the sociologist Gregory Baum, Hebblethwaite says

> "He holds that the task of the theologians is to exercise a critical role in the Church, and that their purpose is to stop faith declining into ideology."
> (Hebblethwaite, 1975, 111)

One further distinction needs to be made - the difference between explicit and implicit ideology. Looking to the first two groups studied (the Sisters and the Social Service group) it was not until the interviews that any real degree of personal or organizational ideology was revealed in response to direct questioning. Immediately a distinction between

the groups became apparent - the Sisters far more readily referred to why they were doing what they were doing. Explicit ideology is revealed by the statements issued by their organizations. Social policy is explicit ideology (Sainsbury 1977). Implicitly it is revealed in various administrative procedures, modes of recording and within official documents.

It is commonly accepted that ideology is meant to influence people's behaviour, and this obviously suggests that it can be used for the benefit of those in authority. Allen sees ideology as 'essentially a mechanism for social control' - and Adrian Sandall goes on to explain

> "for it is through ideology that individuals interpret the world. The dominant ideology provides a general framework through which a single person in the light of his particular situation (that is experience) can understand the world and act appropriately (in the interests of the status quo)."
>
> (Randall, 1976, 8)

But I think we must beware of too readily accepting that for the ordinary worker this is a conscious process, for most people act in certain ways without consciously realizing why they are doing so. In this the Sisters were exceptional.

In this chapter also an attempt is made to differentiate between the two religious groups in terms of their sociological status - i.e., the distinction between church and sect which is at the centre of considerable debate. It is not my intention to become involved in the academic arguments which surround this topic, but primarily to use the terms to set the two groups within the context of the wider society and to see if they offer any explanation for the differing practice of groups with differing theological/ideological stances. A caveat need to be injected here.

Throughout the thesis I have turned to specific theories in an attempt to make sense of the empirical data, and there is therefore a constant matching of observed reality with theoretical abstractions. In many cases theories which promised explanation in fact failed,

or partly failed, to do so, but this does not detract from the overall usefulness of the exercise. Once a theory has been found to be lacking in the context of the data, other explanations can sometimes be derived and so new theories are generated. The emphasis is of necessity on a dynamic process.

Outline of Chapter 4

In Chapter 3 I drew attention to the historical relationships between church and state. In the same way it is now important to delineate the role of the church (i.e., of religious institutions in general) in contemporary society, before we move on to more specific ideological points related to practice. What is the social function of the church in a 'welfare state'? What role or roles could and should it fulfil?

Turning to existing theory, it appeared appropriate (given my choice of religious institutions) to look first at the distinctions made between church and sect. For convenience the term 'church' has been used generically so far to include all religious bodies (as opposed to secular ones), but within the next section a far more specific useage is distinguished. The section focusses on what it means, in sociological terms, to be a church or a sect. This inevitably involves some reflection on the available literature in this area, and leads to an examination of the peculiar place of the Religious Order and its relationship to the sect. This relationship is examined, not only at a theoretical level, but also in the context of the empirical data. This theory I found however did not serve to advance my understanding of the observable differences between the two religious groups.

From the outset, I had recognised that ideology would be an important aspect of my research. However, in adherence to my methodology, the actual areas that would prove to be significant had to be left to emerge from the data. There was one exception to this.

From the beginning of the research, one particular facet of ideology had appeared to be of potential significance for practice and this was the concept of vocation. It will be remembered that the aim of this chapter is to present the ideological issues which structure those four institutions being studied. We have already seen in the last chapter how history contributed to the structuring process - the emphasis now is on the ideologies. Vocation clearly meant different things to the different respondents, and these different meanings are presented here. This is then related to what is available at a theoretical level in the literature on the subject.

Four other categoriesemerged from the data. It is not strange to discover that the concept of 'family' emerges quite clearly in a study of social work. State policies have often concentrated on the family and the centrality of the family formed a part of the Sister's ideology that structured the approachto most of their work.I was therefore interested in looking at how the other groups related to the concept - and it is to this that the chapter then turns.

Similarly, it is not strange to find that attitudes to death and dying provide another ideological reference point for social workers. The different practices related to the differing ideologies of the groups are therefore reviewed next.

A further factor which showed the relationship between ideological thought and practice was that of dress. External appearance, for the Sisters and the Salvation Army, was very significant. Thus, the section on the sociology and psychology of clothes.

Chapter Four ends with an examination of the concept of genericism within Social Service Departments and the Sisters, providing an excellent illustration of how ideology is distorted in practice.

The Contemporary Role of the Church

In relating theory and practice or theology and practice, it is essential to relate the contribution that particular theories make to the practice of certain institutions - we are here concerned with the role that the contemporary church can make to the practice of social work. Chapter Three offered an analysis of the relationship of church and social work in the past- now the focus is turned to the present.

But what is social work attempting to do? Obviously we need to be relatively clear on this point before any discussion can ensue on therole of the churches

I would like to focus on certain views of what social work is trying to do, within the constraints imposed by limited space. Keith-Lucas in an invaluable article entitled 'The Art and Science of Helping' examines the content and context of helping. He holds that helping is wider than any profession - yet so little is known about the problems and methods of helping and the principles which underlie this particular science and art. Two things he takes as fixed - (i) all real helping which induces change - takes place within the context of a relationship and is therefore a two-way thing; and (ii) people rarely want to be helped and they want help on their own terms. Keith-Lucas examines what it takes to ask for help

> "1. a recognition that there is something wrong, and that one cannot do anything about it by oneself, without taking help, that is.
>
> 2. a willingness to confess this weakness to another, to let him know what one really is.
>
> 3. a willingness to let him advise one, to have some power over one's life, and
>
> 4. finally, a willingness to risk the unknown - to give up one's present situation, however intolerable this may be, for some unknown that may look better but may actually turn out to be worse."
>
> (Keith-Lucas, 1976, 268/9)

This is what we are asking of social work clients. How often the cost of asking for help is forgotten or minimised. This is the background to all the requests that are dealt with by the workers under study.

Keith-Lucas also points out that the church has long recognised what it takes to ask for help - as he says in

> "repentance, the recognition that one is a sinner and needs God's help to do any different; confession, submission and finally faith - the evidence of things unseen."
> (Keith-Lucas, 1976, 269)

It is therefore not surprising that people will do almost anything to prevent themselves from being helped. Helping needs to 'exorcise fear' - the fear of change - for it is this which prevents them changing. It can only be offered, Keith-Lucas suggests, not given. It also depends on choice - and positive choice is only possible if the person is free to do the opposite. And within the helping relationship the person must be free to express their negative feelings without fearing anger, blame or loss of face. It should beaan equal partnership - helper and helped struggling with feelings and thoughts that either might have had. It is here that Keith-Lucas offers most challenges to contemporary social work. Much is being demanded of helper and helped.

For Keith-Lucas three principles can be enumerated - 'a Trinity' - no one of which is effective without the other. He sees them as a reflection of The Trinity

> "far-off, faint reflections, but nevertheless the three ways in which God comes to us"
> (Keith-Lucas, 1976, 276)

They are Reality 'This is it'

Empathy 'I know that it must hurt, or that it is difficult'

Support 'I am here to help you if you want me and can use me'.

It would seem that religious thinking is certainly contributing to these ideas, which need to be acknowledged as what should be at the root of all social work, even if it often falls short.

Another person who sees the role of social workers being in the sphere of the development and use of personal relationships for the benefit of the client is Davies in Support Systems in Social Work. He extends this role to volunteers saying that

> "The primary tool available to every volunteer was his tongue".
>
> (Davies, 1977, 45)

He concurs with the view outlined above that the concept of 'helping' is a far more complex process than usually imagined.

> "The complexity of the helping relationship, moreover, cannot be mastered solely by an understanding of ego-psychology or the concept of the unconscious; it must be viewed in its social context. If we are to plan support systems, we must take account of the attitudes and feelings of the person being helped, of the social and ecological context within which the help is on offer, of the degree of intensity feasible and the period of time over which a helping relationship might be allowed to develop, of the personal nature of that relationship and of the evolving - and perhaps dominant - role of the recipient in the helping process."
>
> (Davies, 1977, 122)

But the role of social work is much contested. One of the central issues on debate today is that of the personal versus the political - expressed in terms of whether the social worker is expected to focus on the problems of the individual and in some measure act as an agent of social control, or whether he should recognise the wider structural problems within society which may be affecting the client and work for some social change. Perhaps this is a reflection of the older debate between philanthropy and social justice? I would maintain that the role cannot be a straight-forward neatly defined one - the contemporary social worker is being forced to accept in some measure a dual role, as Pearson suggests (see Chapter 3 p. 3.46).

A narrow view whereby the client is seen as the only focus of attention is becoming increasingly untenable within a society which grows more unequal each day. Whatever it might or might not have done in the past, the Church cannot now ignore the reasons why people are forced into the situations which lead them to ask for help. Help as we have seen is not easily asked for, despite what opponents of the Welfare State would have us believe.

Although many would recognise that there is a need to clarify the role of the statutory social worker -

there is also a corresponding need today to look at society's need for "support systems in the community" (Davies, 1977, 74). Here Davies is focussing on the use to be made of volunteers - I would extend it to voluntary organisations, like those studied. What do these voluntary organisations, and particularly religiously based ones, have to contribute?

Before going on to examine a few ideas of how others see their contributions, it is necessary to reflect briefly on the relationship of church and world. Yeo in an article pleading for a contextual view of religious organisation suggests that one should talk of 'religion in society' rather than 'religion and society', which assumes that there are

> "two separable entities, as though we already had or as though it was possible to have, a society without religion."
> (Yeo, 1973, 208)

The church is clearly situated in the context of secular history - but what of that traditional division between sacred and secular? Modern theology increasingly denies the necessity of such a division. Described in the words of one Sister as

> "an artificial apartheid which would pit sacred against secular in an either/or choice"
> (Barrett, 1968, 99)

Gibson Winter (1963) argues that secular and secularization have gathered negative connotations, instead of remaining the neutral terms that they originally were. Secular was equivalent to worldly in the good sense - one talked and still does about secular clergy as opposed to regular clergy. The secular were those within the world, regular were those set apart in Communities. The emphasis is changing

> "The Church is no longer an institutional structure of salvation alongside the worldly structures of restraint. The Church is that community within the worldly structures of historical responsibility which recognizes and acknowledges God's gracious work for all mankind."
> (Winter, 1963, 55)

Blomjous, a modern theologian, talks of the unity of the spiritual and the secular,

> "Much light can be thrown on the problem of the church's role in the secular sphere if we view it against the background of two apparently opposing trends observable today. On the one hand the world of man is becoming increasingly secularized, and the human community in its modern organized form, the state, is more and more claiming exclusive rights over all secular matters. On the other hand, both in the church and from the world there has emerged a new demand for greater commitment of the church to secular development.
> (Privately circulated paper)

Collaboration between church and state is what is called for, he feels.

> "Therefore her spiritual activity cannot be separate from and independent of the temporal mission of the whole human race."
> (Blomjous)

Such collaboration he envisages in the form of a partnership.

> "The specific role of the church in human and earthly development is not direct development activity. This is the specific and proper function of human society as such, and therefore, of the state. The church's role is rather the religious and Christian inspiration and animation of human secular development."
> (Blomjous)

Within Roman Catholic circles, the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in Modern World, 'Gaudium et Spes', (Abbott, 1966, 199-308) addresses itself to this very issue. The church and the world are seen to have complementary but not identical purposes (G.S.36). Anything that promotes the betterment of people is ipso facto a religious and Christian work, by whatever name it is called. But the document goes on to point out that the Church's primary role is not an economic, social or political one (G.S.42), this would always be a supplementary role. The church is not a welfare state or a political party - her role is seen as a source of Christian inspiration and animation. Nevertheless it would seem imperative that the Church continues to offer those services which bolster up that welfare state.

We cannot leave the question of the relationship of the church and the world without some reference to the issue of power. In another privately circulated paper on Community Organization in America the following argument is put forward

> "Too often the Church has been content to paternalistically 'offer services' to the poor rather than to share power with them. This stance has only led to the stripping away of the low income person's dignity and to the creating of inferiority, apathy and dependence. The church's task must be to help the poor organize and establish new centres of power through which unjust institutions and laws can be changed and made more responsive to the needs of the poor disenfranchised persons of our land. New leadership, positive change, personal fulfilment, and a renewed experience of community are all possible results of this commitment."

There must be this transfer of power, but it is this which both in the past and today has frightened many. They are prepared to 'do good' to those in need but not to tackle those problems which are the root cause. The Church cannot dissociate itself from this struggle.

But how to congregations actually see their relationship to the secular world. A study of four Birmingham Parishes by R.H.T.Thompson addressed itself in part to this very question. His findings were summarised as follows.

> "There was little apparent awareness on the part of the congregation of any difference in practice between the values and behaviour of those outside the Church and those inside."
> (Thompson, 1957, 37)

> "Several were "more conscious of the difference between Catholic and Protestant sections of the Anglican Church than they were of any distinction between the Churchand the world."
> (Thompson, 1947, 50)

Perhaps what was most telling, despite this lack of consciousness in respect of church/world relationships, was that the church was able to inspire its members to work for other philanthropic or social agencies.

> "The number of church people working for various voluntary social and philanthropic organisations was remarkable. Many church people were responding to the message of the Gospel through secular channels... The Church itself appeared to offer no openings for its members who responded to its own teaching."
> (Thompson, 1957, 97)

Perhaps they had a clearer understanding of what their Christianity was really about after all - they drew no distinction between sacred and secular channels - they just applied their Christian inspiration wherever there was an opening.

What is the social function of the Church in a 'welfare' state? Although Hall & Howes (1965) were specifically concerned with the Church of England some of their remarks can be extended to cover all denominations. Undoubtedly the Church's responsibility for social care as someone has put it 'stems from her very title deeds'. As the Bishop of Middleton puts it

> "fundamentally the justification of the Church's engagement in social work springs from the compassion of our Lord, exemplified in deed and word."
>
> (Quoted from Hall & Howes, 1965, 260)

This is as true today as at any time. But how is the church to fulfil that responsibility. The relationship to the welfare state can be summarised as follows:

> "In modern Britain a new situation has been created as the result of the coming into being of the 'welfare state', in the context of which it is now generally accepted that the material and social well-being of the individual citizen is the responsibility of the political community and, in the absence of specific reasons to the contrary, the right and proper way to discharge this responsibility is directly through the organs of central and local government. In this situation, unless a voluntary social service can show that it is discharging a function or meeting a need which cannot be discharged equally efficiently, or met equally effectively by a statutory body, its present position is vulnerable, its future in jeopardy."
>
> (Hall & Howes, 1965, 261)

Now, that passage was written in the early Sixties, at a time when people were more optimistic about the ability of the 'welfare state' to do away with the need for charity. But many people would still accept the view that demands more than a mere duplication of effort from its voluntary organisations. But it is crucial to remember, as Hall & Howes point out, that voluntary organisations

> "sponsored by the Church are not simply social work institutions, but discharge pastoral or related functions which cannot be disregarded, and which might well be lost should the work be passed to a secular body"
>
> (Hall & Howes, 1965, 264)

The Church must however, as many writers stress, know precisely what <u>is</u> its distinctive contribution. Parallel institutions must justify themselves on bases quite other than previously (The On-Going Dialogue <u>in</u> Borromeo, 1968, 204). Unquestionably the work must be of a comparably

high standard with work undertaken by secular bodies - in many cases one might suggest that it is actually higher.

The other way that the church can deal with this question is to encourage its members to join statutory organizations - but that is outside the scope of this thesis.

How do others see the contemporary role of the church working out in practice? All I can do here is indicate very briefly some ideas as they occur in the literature - and leave people to follow up those of particular interest.

The Birmingham Social Responsibility Project (1961) set out to study the relationships between the social services and the churches in a city suburb - the emphasis was on voluntary effort <u>co-operating</u> with statutory services <u>not as an alternative</u> to them. The Social Services for their part seemed to welcome the intervention of churches but few of them envisaged the church being involved at the planning and policy level - which I feel is significant. The actual facts of the study are out-dated but two points which I want to mention are that problems of joint service occurred because of a divided church (i.e., the existence of different denominations), secondly there needed to be effective liaison for the project to work.

An American example of a similar project to appraise the church's role in social welfare was sponsored by the Methodist Church .The results are published as Compassion and Community - Miller (1961). Confusion is often the primary response to such questions

> "The church's role in social welfare appears to be becoming increasingly vague.
> From clear-cut dominance in the field, the church seems to have moved to a relatively minor and somewhat confused position.
> Though its dominance was never so clear in America as in some other societies, there is little doubt of a relative reduction of its significance even here."
>
> (Miller, 1961, 94)

However I would argue that just because there is confusion and vagueness that should not be equated necessarily with decreasing significance. Even Miller would assert that social work remains fundamental to the church's role

along with missions, evangelism and Christian education. Again what emerges is the need for co-operation (with no room for a distinction between sacred and secular effort - Miller) and consultation.

In more theological terms the role of the church can be seen as a mission to those in the margins. Following Christ's example of identifying with the powerless, his followers should be concerned with those in the margins of society. Cullinan expresses it thus

> "It is not an optional part of Christian faith, but an essential part, that a person must identify with the 'least of my brethren', the forgotten, the dispossessed, the trapped, the powerless. This identification will take different forms."
>
> (Cullinan, 1975, 80)

Surely this is why the church is so involved within the field of the single homeless?

In the same vein Biddle and Biddle (1965) refer to the idea of the church as 'carriers of hope', particularly in the field of community development. It is in this particular area that many writers see the Church's greatest contributions. Lovell (Conference Paper December 1969) enumerates eight ways in which the church can serve the community and it is worth looking at these in some detail.

The Church can work in, for and with the community

1. By supplementing the statutory social services.
2. By offering personal services in impersonal systems and structures.
3. By fostering a sense of community through interest based small groups.
4. Through church worship (strengthening community workers), by witness and by offering Christ.
5. By Christians speaking for those who cannot speak for themselves.
6. By stimulating others
   (a) to ask questions about community
   (b) to identify their needs
   (c) to discover or provide resources to meet needs
   (d) to realise how they can help themselves.
7. Through examples of Christian communal living, and ecumenical co-operation in community ventures.
8. By the church being a focus of community interest/ life.

Surely an inspiring programme for churches?

Given the particular findings of this research in regard to the positive benefits of community, it is a telling remark by another community worker, Phil Evens (1974) that no new role is necessary for the church -

it continues to be the rediscovery of Christian community and living, as the way to fulfil the task.

Despite the increasingly secular nature of many charities, Nightingale (1973) warns us that it is wrong to suppose that it will or should become entirely secular.

The peculiar need of society today is for people to meet each other (Verney 1969) and the church has an important role in building bridges between people who misunderstand one another. This may include neighbours across the street or specialists across professional boundaries. Verney would also maintain that the church has no 'answer' to the problems of the city (with which he is particularly concerned) apart from the secular professions. Again collaboration seems to be stressed.

But I would agree with David Clark when he says that

> "The Christian ministry of caring and concern needs to be far more than a desperate rescue operation."
>
> (Clark, 1977, 184)

What kind of partnership can the church and the statutory services engage in? Heasman (1965) considers some alternatives - the church could contract out of its social responsibilities, but the difficulty would lie in deciding just where the religious and the social aspects of human need could be distinguished. After all that I have said earlier, I do not see this option as a valid one. Parallel provision could be maintained, but this would be expensive and in my view unnecessary. Thirdly, Heasman proposes the concept of gap-filling

- by pioneering when a need is not recognised or is inadequately met
- by carrying out experimental projects which the other services are unable to do
- by providing numbers of voluntary workers to render simple and continuous service in a locality
- by directly undertaking work where spiritual and moral care is the primary need.

Although all these suggestions are quite reasonable, I feel that they do not reflect the vitality which the contemporary church could inject into social work provision if it was only to follow the basic precepts of its Founder. Seifert (1952) pleads for a functional rather than an institutional church where in his terms

it is purposive, person centred and community conscious, contemporary in reference. It will expect to adopt novel procedures from time to time, and will act on a comprehensive interpretation of the role of religion, supplementing discussion with action. He feels community action is a fundamental function of the church. We must beware of the church becoming too intent on preserving its own structures at the expense of everything else.

I feel it is debatable that to do any form of social work requires some contact with the state social services, as Heasman suggests, although colloboration is obviously to be encouraged. This is all part of too narrow a concept of the potential of the churches. At a minimum the experience of Rex and Moore (1967) in Sparkbrook demonstrate what positive functions the churches in that area fulfilled. They provided security and comfort to those of their members who were old and bewildered. They operated as welfare and casework agencies in the 'interstices' or crevices of the welfare state. They found too that for the Pentecostal and West Indian sects they provided meaning and an opportunity for release of tension in a situation of deprivation and often poverty. They saw the immigrant and working class churches encouraging thrift and personal virtue which aided survival in a somewhat hazardous urban environment. For many the church provides a source of identity.

The Aves Report in 1969 referred to the new opportunities which seemed to be opening out for church members in the field of social service. Davies remarks that

> "The Aves Report (1969) made a brave attempt to differentiate the respective roles of volunteers and professionals in the practice of social work; that the result remains unconvincing is a reflection, not so much of the vagueness of aims and policies which characterise the voluntary sector, as of the corresponding imprecision which is the hallmark of statutory social work, and which is best reflected in the discrepancies which exist between the public expectations of social service departments and the actual functioning of their employees."
> (Davies, 1977, 65)

Again this is a reflection of the fact that the church has two forms of contribution to make - as an institution or agency, and as individual church members, who for the

most part are unqualified, but nevertheless potentially useful volunteers.

The Wolfenden Report (1978) as the successor to the Aves Report looked at the role of voluntary organisations as we saw in the last chapter (p. 3.46). It talks too of the relationship between voluntary and statutory systems in terms of extending the scope of existing provision, or improving the standards of statutory provision, or in offering services where little or nothing is available through the state.

The pioneering role is one that has been extensively used in connection with the churches in the past, Wolfenden suggests that it is probably in the area of new initiatives rather than in true pioneering that their role now lies. So often the voluntary sector is providing services which the State would otherwise be forced to provide. It is useful to look at the conclusions that they present. Although they too refer to the role of 'filling gaps in statutory provision', they recognise that there is often a difference in kind in the type of provision offered by voluntary agencies. They refer to the bridging role (see Verney's concept earlier) between individuals and the statutory services

> "through the medium of organised arrangements for mutual aid and neighbourly care and by transmitting from one side to the other knowledge about unmet needs and available resources."
>
> (Wolfenden, 1968, 59)

There is also the ability to provide alternative services which offer the client some elements of choice, often with the voluntary alternative taking the shape of more specialised provision. Mention is made naturally of the pioneering role or 'independent initiatives', with specialist agencies often working with stigmatised and unpopular groups. There is a pressure group role, and voluntary organisations they see as the main providers of advice and advocacy. They also go on to recognise that such organisations provide a vehicle for the expression of care and concern and also enable religious and ethnic minorities to sustain their own identities. Amongst all these very positive comments, the main limitation of voluntary organisations is also presented - that of the

unevenness of its provision.

It would not be adequate to end a consideration of the contemporary role of the church without some thought about the specific role of the priest or pastor. This is definitely changing, and not changing without considerable discomfort to those within that position. Hebblethwaite explains

> "Part of the explanation of the malaise is not so much theological as sociological. As Archbishop Gregoire told the 1971 Synod in the name of the Canadian bishops, the priest has experienced 'a gradual stripping away of fields of activity and competence'. The priest as helper of those in trouble has given way to the professional social worker. The priest as the one of superior education who leads his flock and forms their opinions is under stress in a time of higher education and the competing mass media. The priest's competence as a marriage counsellor began to be challenged on the grounds that as a celibate he does not know what he is talking about. As a religious expert, he has to face competition and criticism from laymen for whom his seminary training seems to have been largely a training in irrelevance."
> (Hebblethwaite, 1975, 56)

So the priest too is having to rethink his role, particularly in respect of the social element. Verney (1969) makes the point that what social workers themselves need from the priest/minister is not that they resign and become social workers, but that they remain as priests who can minister to them and offer them that 'peace which passes all understanding'.

But this changing role ina paradoxical way puts even more pressure on the clergy, as Harrison suggests

> "But the accumulation of social problems in the inner city confronts the clergyman with a crisis of conscience. The Welfare state has expropriated most of the social-work content of his pastoral role; yet it has not ended homelessness, poverty, unemployment, crime or racial discrimination."
> (Harrison, 1973, 201)

Where does this leave us in our thinking? Certain traditional roles remain open to the contemporary church in contributing to the field of social work - they can pioneer, they can specialise, they can operate with unpopular groups, they can be particularly involved in specifically moral areas - (e.g., the welfare of unmarried mothers) - they can fill the gaps in statutory

provision. But over and above this, there is an exciting potential to offer to build bridges between people who can no longer communicate, be they clients or professionals; they can minister (and not just the clergy can do this) to those who are trying to care for others; they can offer a degree of choice to clients in a world that must offer little or no choice in life; they can experiment in a way not open to statutory agencies; and above all they can contribute a sense of community, as a basis on which people can build their lives in mutual respect. They can offer hope, and if they respond to the challenge they can turn that hope into at least some measure of reality. Priest and laity have a role to play in today's society - not only a valid one, but an invaluable one I would argue. The state cannot and does not meet all the forms of need that arise, particularly in urban situations, and it is inpartnership and colloboration that the church and state can tackle the often overwhelming problems in an area.

The church is in a particularly strong position to translate the theory of its theology into actual practice, with the minimum of divergence between the two. Christ set an example of consistency between word and deed, so too should his followers.

Church and Sect

Unlike the theologian, I am not interested in religious beliefs themselves, in the sense of their validity or truth, but in

> "their social location and consequences, and therefore in the social arrangements by which beliefs are shared and translated into action."

This stance is explained and developed very well in the Open University Course Material for D101:-

> "If beliefs are to be given social expression and to attract converts, some means has to be created to transmit and sustain these ideas, to develop loyalty and commitment, to safeguard the purity of beliefs and to control members' behaviour. In other words, shared beliefs must operate on an organised basis..... The particular form of organization created in order to institutionalise a belief system and to translate it into a pattern of behaviour is, therefore, a crucial intervening variable between beliefs and actions."

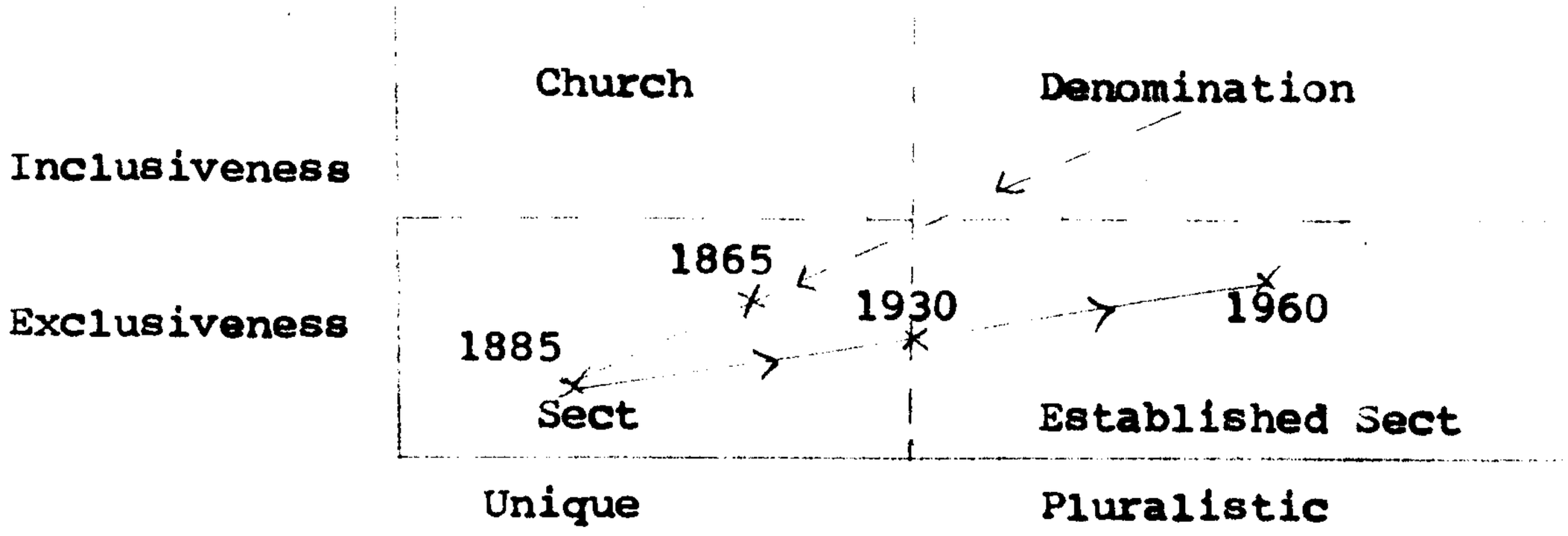
It is in order to aid such analysis and to generate theory that typologies are created as a means of simplifying the complexity of empirical reality. However typologies are not without their own problems, particularly the concept of the 'ideal type' as Michael Hill points out

> "As a broad interpretation it can be argued that typological analysis in many branches of the subject has begun with the initial construction of large and inclusive type-forms on an apparently high level of generality; that the work of later sociologists has shown this apparent generality to be, at least to some extent, spurious in that it is derived from analysis of a rather more restricted cultural setting; and that the result has been the elaboration of more sophisticated sub-types."
>
> (Hill, 1973, 47)

With this caveat in mind, however, there is still some merit in pursuing a study of the uses of more recent typologies in this field.

The basic dichotomy of church and sect as portrayed by Weber (1970) and later Troeltsch (1931) has gradually been expanded to include other types and sub-types - denomination, ecclesia, cult, established sect with some emphasis being laid on transition from one type to another, particularly sect to denomination. To review all the work in this field would be an unnecessary and lengthy diversion, but certain facets seem apposite to this thesis.

There seems general consensus that the Salvation Army should be classified as a sect but in view of the fact that it has persisted for more than one generation, while retaining certain sectarian characteristics, it seems reasonable to call it an example of an "established sect" or an "institutionalised sect" (Cf work of Bryan Wilson (1967) and Roland Robertson (1970) on this subject). Although several writers would argue that the normal transition is from sect to denomination, Robertson interestingly argues that the S.A. is an example of a denomination that reverted to sect and has evolved into an established sect. He very usefully portrays 'The Path of the Salvation Army' in diagrammatic form.



(Robertson, 1970, 128)

This analysis would appear the most realistic. Wilson (1967) argues quite cogently that Niebuhr's factors of upward social mobility and membership through birth rather than choice need not prevent a sect establishing itself.

But interest here lies, as stated, in the social location of religious beliefs -

> "Beliefs do not operate in a social vacuum but act on and reflect the social relationships in which they are embedded."
> (O.U. D.101 Unit 24. 148)

Robertson stresses the importance of a typology which allows for "changes and shifts in the societal stance of the religious collectivity". He illustrates this need by reference to the Salvation Army and this is most certainly sustained by the data collected in connection with their work with the single homeless.

> "Particularly we need to cater for collectivities which, on the one hand, espouse a religious message which is out of line with the dominant religious and secular culture but which is also regarded as an acceptable or perhaps even necessary part of the religious scene - in Britain one thinks of the Salvation Army ...."
> (Robertson, 1970, 126)

But what are some of the qualities of a sect? Weber refers to"'church' as a compulsory association for the administration of grace" and "'sect' as a voluntary association of religiously qualified persons" (Weber in Gerth and Mills, 1970, 314). Bryan Wilson describes them thus:-

> "Sects are movements of religious protest. Their members separate themselves from other men in respect of their religious beliefs, practices and institutions, and often in many other departments of their lives. They reject the

> authority of orthodox religious leaders, and often, also, of the secular government. Allegiance to a sect is voluntary, but individuals are admitted only on proof of conviction, or by some other test of merit: continuing affiliation rests on sustained evidence of commitment to sect beliefs and practices. Sectarians put their faith first: they order their lives in accordance with it. The orthodox, in contrast, compromise faith with other interests, and their religion accommodates the demands of the secular culture."
>
> (Wilson, 1970, 7)

This description goes some way to explaining the various indices used by Robertson in his analysis, quoted above, that is uniqueness and exclusiveness.

Wilson in his own work on sects sub-divides the latter into four different kinds - conversionist, adventist, introversionist and gnostic. The Salvation Army falls within the first category. Conversionist sects seek to alter men and in so doing to alter the world - it therefore values rapid evangelism. Wilson sees sects as varying in the background against which they emerge - for the conversionist sect he sees them as engendered by the strains of sudden urbanisation and industrialisation. He also points out that they organise

> "for widespread proselytisation, and to that end will administer its resources centrally, and develop a professional ministry."

We have already mapped in the previous chapter the historical background of the S.A.

The Roman Catholic Church on the other hand is taken to be an example of the 'church' or'universal church' category. However, it is no longer particularly helpful to talk in terms of a church-sect <u>dichotomy</u> because as Wilson points out

> "the church is no longer the central entity claiming monopoly of access to the supernatural"
>
> (Wilson, 1970)

However, the qualities displayed by a church and its mode of organisation in relation to the secular world is still very relevant. Weber expands the differences between church and sect membership -

> "...Sect membership meant a certificate of moral qualification and especially business morals for the individual. In contrast to membership in a 'church' into which one is 'born' and which lets grace shine over the righteous and the unrighteous

> alike. Indeed, a church is a corporation which organises grace and administers religious gifts of grace, like an endowed function. Affiliation with the church is, in principle, obligatory and hence proves nothing with regard to the member's qualities. A sect, however, is a voluntary association of only those who, according to the principle, are religiously and morally qualified."
> (Weber in Gerth and Mills, 1970, 305/6)

The church is seen as conservative, hierarchical, acting as an agency of social control, being integrated with the world but itself reverenced.

Despite their many structural differences, however, it should be remembered that these differing organisational forms fulfil similar functions of socialization and control.

> "In terms of their individual members, religious organisations transmit values, beliefs and appropriate behavioural norms; they confer a particular identity and sustain this identity in the social group of adherents thereby inducing commitment; they provide a social base by which beliefs and action are legitimized and reinforced and they act as a form of control through rules that sanction conformity."
> (O.U. D101 Unit 24. 146)

The final point which needs emphasis in this discussion is the peculiar place of the Religious Order, for it is with that that I am concerned, and its relationship to the sect. As far back as Weber and Troeltsch references have been made to the ressemblances between the religious order and the sect.

Weber in referring to the discipline of an ascetic sect being far more rigorous than that of any church says -

> "In this respect, the sect resembles the monastic order."
> (Weber in Gerth and Mills, 1970, 317)

The probationary period in sects can be equated with the Novitiate and as in many orders, there are two layers of membership. Troeltsch also pinpointed the connection. For him, as Michael Hill explains

> "he regarded the radical tendency within Christianity either as being contained within the more universalistic form of church organisation or as emerging in a distinct type of religious organisation (as did Weber), for he referred to the 'two sociological forms of the sect-type, the Religious Order and the voluntary association." (39, vol.ii; 723) This is not the same thing

> as saying that the two types are in any strict sense functional equivalents, but it does suggest some form of analogous relationship between the sect and the religious order."
> (Hill, 1973, 53)

Another significant discussion relating to this is that found in Joachim Wach's concept of 'ecclesiola in ecclesia'. He sees this term as the motto for groups which form within the ecclesiastical body themselves in protest to policies, laxity or compromise, which are seen as "pernicious".

It is useful here to consider Wach's description of the Religious Order

> "A third type of reaction to ecclesiastical development tends toward a stricter and more rigid conception of the new community within the main body...The monastic group can be defined as a founded and organized congregation of those who, because of their protest, decided to live a common life of religious devotion in closer association than appears otherwise possible or desirable in a fraternitas. The ideal is conceived of in terms of the original central religious experience. It is exclusive in its demands, insisting upon individual,,permanent loyalty. Absolute obedience, fixed residence, peculiar garb, meals in common, special devotions, and common labor bind the members of the convent and the order together. They are also united in a negative sense by their common renunciation of secular relationships and possessions. The idea of spiritual brotherhood completely supersedes natural organisation. General and local regulations determine status in the monastic orders (leave, dismissal). Particularly stressed are chastity, special prayers, ascetic practices, and harmony of activity. In other matters emphasis varies from order to order. It may be placed on manual labor, study, missionary, educational, or charitable work."
> (Wach, 1967, 181-2)

Michael Hill (1971) has himself made a study of the parallels and contrasts between religious orders and sects, using Bryan Wilson's typical features of sects. These parallels are laid out in a table form together with my own empirical evidence as it relates to the Salvation Army and theSisters. In this way reality is matched against the typologies. (See Table I)

What is the result? Typological similarities related to the organizational structure, the way such groups protect themselves, membership criteria etc .,

TABLE 1.

		a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
I	B.Wilson's Typical features of a sect (p.77-78 Hill A Sociology of Religion)	Voluntary Association	Membership by proof of special merit - e.g., knowledge of doctrine or conversion experience.	Exclusiveness emphasised - and expulsion of deviants exercised.	Self-conception -"an elect, gathered remnant with special enlightenment"	Personal perfect-ion - expected level of aspiration
II	Michael Hill's Comparison of Sect features with those of religious orders	Because of their celibate form they cannot bestow birthright membership - therefore to this extent a vol. association	Special merit in form of high level of commitment and stringent tests of entry usually demanded	Special dress - emphasises exclusiveness and usually some provision in Rule for expulsion	Special enlight-enment emphasised in contemplative orders - although concept of remnant incompat-ible with Catholic dogma, large number of saints were hermits or monks	Personal perfection is key goal in religious orders - may include 'minimal disruption'
III	Sect features related to empirical data gathered from Salvation Army	Have to join - therefore a voluntary assoc-iation, but as an established sect some pressure is exercised on children of S.A. to continue allegiance.	Look for conversion experience	Uniform emphas-ises exclusive-ness & deviants expelled - but salvation not totally linked to membership of one specific organisation.	Evangelical belief in being saved - but do not have monopoly of salvation.	Held basic Christian goal of immitating Christ - 'perfect man'

		a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
IV	Sect features related to empirical data gathered from Sisters	Celibate - have to join. Pressure of the traditional prestige of having 'nun' or 'priest' in family	Long training in novitiate, high level of commit-ment demanded, good physical and emotional health required	Habit emphasises 'set apartness'. Order provides virtuoso element for rest of church	Try to minimise any suggestion of 'elite' but clients & many Catholics would see them as 'better people'	Held basic goal of perfection - but seen as even more important for Religious

Continued.....

	f.	g.	h.	i.	j.*	k.*
I	Ideally a priesthood of all believers	High level of lay participation	Member allowed to express his commi-tment spontan-eously	Sect is hostile or indifferent to secular society or state	Commitment of sectarian more total & more clearly defined than that of other religious organisations	Totalitarian hold rather than segmental hold over their members -ideology tends to keep sectarians apart from the world. Ideological orientation to society dictated by sect, members' behaviours strictly specified.
II.	-	Monasticism originated as lay protest movement-clericalised in 12th C. Abolition of 'choir' & 'lay' distinction now - Ritual particip-ation always more sustained and inclusive than 'secular' churches	Spontaneity dis-couraged because potentially dis-ruptive of tight-knit community in group situations-occasionally tolerated	Orders adopt a 'reserved' attit-ude, but retain virtuoso values against comprom-ise	Commitment is total, expressed in segregation, which can be lifelong	Likeness to Goffman's 'total institution' - but distinguished by their voluntary basis
III	Familiar evangelical concept - but S.A. retain a separate 'ministry' as well	Little lay participation in the actual work of the hostels - though employ a 'trustee' system	Spontaneity permitted Testimonies	Presence of hostility diff-icult to judge. Saw State as adopting Booth's blue print for own use	Life-style of officers totally governed by the dictates of the Army - true to a lesser degree for all Salvationists	Strict rules against drinking gambling, smoking &c.
IV	Recently given prominence in Vatican II theology - but probably still somewhat foreign to the Sisters	No lay/choir distinction existed in this order. Able to absorb my 'lay' partic-ipation although this was an unusual situation	Spontaneity traditionally discouraged but Srs seemed to retain a measure of flexibility due to nature of their work	'Reserved' attitude	Life-long commitment involving almost total submission to authority	'Total institution' - effect of voluntary basis tends to diminish as remain longer in Order-difficult to leave because of pressures.

* J and K - general features of sects, whereas the others are relevant to certain sub-types of sects according to Wilson.

between III and IV would indeed seem to substantiate the theoretical stance of Hill in regard to religious orders and sects. A somewhat stronger case can be made with the two groups under study for the two major differences referred to by Hill are not so evident.

> "The major difference between religious orders and sects are two: firstly, orders, being part of a wider institutional church, rely on a source of authority that is ultimately external, though they may be permitted a considerable degree of organizational autonomy in their internal arrangements. Sects, on the other hand, are self-legitimating and rely on no external sanctions in regulating their beliefs and structure. A corollary of this is that orders often claim to perform mystical and sometimes practical services for the whole of society, while this is by no means true of all sects. Secondly, religious orders impose strict regulations on sexual activity and often seek to minimise the tensions that this might cause by geographical isolation. Sects are very rarely celibate, although they may impose rules of endogamy and other sexual regulations, which sometimes generate opposition...."
>
> (Hill, 1973, 84-85)

The Salvation Army is one example of a sect very much involved in performing practical services for the whole of society. While external sanctions cannot effect beliefs, they could and I would suggest do influence the way they perform their 'secular' work and govern the relationship with other social organisations. Though not geographically isolated, there are certainly strong rules governing the sexual mores for both groups. The Salvation Army also seek to minimise dilution of sect allegiance by the strict rule of officer marrying officer. This restriction does not apply to ordinary Salvationists though.

I would see both groups as emanating from an atmosphere of protest. The Salvation Army evolved, as we have seen, from Booth's dissatisfaction with Methodism and its means of evangelising. Booth felt that they were not reaching the people who needed to 'hear the Good News'. They were critical of the establishment and of orthodoxy. The Sisters too were formed to combat a problem seen not to be satisfactorily tackled by either secular or religious authorities, i.e., to nurse the sick poor in their own homes. As such they too were a result of a kind of protest.

However, it would be rational to suppose that such similarities would indicate that empirical evidence about practice would also be similar, given the supposedly common basis just outlined. This as we shall see in the empirical material is not true. Why? The parallels that could be drawn do not in fact lead us very far, and as indicated at the beginning of the chapter - the usefulness of this particular theory is somewhat limited. We need to look further at ideology, and organisation for the answer.

Vocation

Having found the existing theory relating to church and sect wanting, I turned to the categories of ideology as they were found to emerge from the data. From the beginning of the research, the concept of vocation appeared to be potentially central, and I consciously set out to obtain material on this point. I was interested in how each group saw 'vocation' and whether a useful distinction could be made between the four groups in relation to this.

In the case of the Social Services employees and the Sisters, where a much greater depth of data was obtainable, a question relating to this point was included in the interview schedule. (See Appendix 1 & 2). Evidence for the other two groups relied on more informal conversation and my observation.

In the light of some very recent research by F.Jarvis into Probation Officers reported in New Society 24.8.1978, p.404, Probation Officers even today were seen, by themselves as well as others working closely with them, to have " a sense of vocation". Given the accepted use of the word in social work (albeit secular) contexts, it was therefore significant to discover the lack of understanding or very limited useage of the word by those studied in the Social Services Department.

The following are extracts from the taped interviews:-

The Welfare Assistant

I. Could you describe the meaning of the word Vocation?
WA. (Pause)... Oh that's difficult isn't it? ..
I. I mean would you know what context people would use the word vocation in?

W.A. Well, they mostly use it for religion don't they, with the nuns I would (uhm) the nuns their life is their vocation isn't it? (Uhuh)
I. Would you think of it in any other context?
WA. (Pause) Well, I suppose some people would say their jobs were their vocation but I wouldn't like to say that was how I felt it .... (I. .....) I think, you know I enjoy doing my job (uhm) and .. but I wouldn't like to think it was my vocation, where a nun or a ... somebody in the church (uhm) a vicar, it is their vocation isn't it? ....

Neighbourhood Aid (Female)
I. Could you describe the meaning of vocation?
NA. Vocation? No, I couldn't! (Laughter)
I. Have you heard of the word?
NA. Uhm.
I. I mean in what context?
NA. Really the only time I've heard the word was when I was at school and it was a vocation..you know to a... this trip and it was about nuns and things like that, it was Earls Court or something and it was, I can't remember, it was some word "vocation" and.... and you had to go round all little different stalls and things and they gave you leaflets and things but it was about priests and things like that, but uh I haven't really heard much about it. (Uhm) I couldn't describe to you what the word exactly means.
I. ...Would you say that people could have a vocation to do nursing or social work or ...
NA. Yes, yes, yes.
I. But you wouldn't describe yourself as being known as that way?
NA. No, No I wouldn't,.....At the very moment because uh I'd like to do this work again, I really would, but at the moment its very temporary and I don't even know if the bosses above know exactly what we're supposed to be doing as such, its just a sort of fill-in job. But I hope when I do come back to England I will be able to do this work again, and be a Welfare Assistant or something, as (I really do enjoy this work and I think it is for me, you know, I'm the sort of person I think is suited to this work, I do enjoy it a lot.)

Neighbourhood Aid (Male)
I. Could you describe the meaning of vocation?
NA. No.
I. Have you ever heard the word?
NA. 'I've heard the word but can't....(Pause)
I. Do you know in what context people use it even if you're not sure exactly what it means?
NA. No.
I. .... would you say you had a vocation?
NA. No, I wouldn't know.
(Due to a fault the tape recorder failed to record this section, and this was a repeat. His earlier responses were very similar with the significant exception that when prompted about how he associated the word he said "holidays". He obviously had this confused with vacation).

Voluntary Help Organiser

I. Could you describe the meaning of the word Vocation?
VHO. (Slight pause). No.
I. Would you know the context in which it might be used?
VHO. Phew - I suppose people might feel that they'd got a calling to do a given thing or something but not .... not really (no) just don't know.
I. So you're not likely to describe yourself in terms of having a vocation?
VHO. Hardly (laughter) No way.

What immediately becomes evident is that for this group of people this was a difficult question, which caused hesitation and unsure responses. In two cases, links were made with nuns and clergy, and a third very accurately linked it to the idea of a 'calling' but did not take this any further. With prompting three of them were able to make some link with secular work, but none wished to claim a sense of vocation for themselves. In the case of one neighbourhood aid vocation was confused with vacation - but this is partly if not wholly explained by his Asian nationality. However, it does show that it was not a word in useage around the office, for he had a more than adequate grasp of other social work terminology. Two final points emerge which throw some light on the perception of vocation - two respondents stressed that they enjoyed their work, but this was not equated with vocation, they obviously saw vocation as something much more than enjoyment - there is an implication that vocation requires an element of permanence.

Possessing a sense of vocation was therefore completely absent from these non-qualified staff. Is vocation in some way linked to training, qualification and professionalisation? I will return to this later.

Turning to the Sisters, a very different set of responses were elicited. Although some needed a little prompting to organise their thoughts, they were all familiar with the word. Reference was made to its specifically religious connotation, but most went out of their way to stress a much wider use of the word.

Vocation was God's calling, it enables people to do their work better (this point was significantly linked to 'professional jobs') - as opposed to seeing job as a career -, it was a particular attitude to what one was

doing, a dedication.

What exactly did they say?

Sr D."Vocation doesn't only apply to the religious life (Uhuh) (Slight pause) I always say Doctors have a vocation, nurses - it is a vocation, (Uh) to be a mother of a family is a vocation, or a father whatever. So vocation is what we feel God calls us to.

I. And do you think that vocation is an essential element of social work and nursing?

D. Yes, definitely."

Sr S."(Pause) You know it's not easy to define is it really? (No) (No, have a try) (Laughter) Well, uh, it's a calling (uhm) to a sort of ... well to the religious life first of all I would say (yes) as regards myself, and uhm then the particular type of work that is done by the Order (uhm) I'd say that the two would sort of go ...(yes)

I. Would you see Vocation as an essential element in nursing or social work outside a religious community? I mean...

Sr S. I would, yes I would, I would.

I. So that you could have a vocation to nursing (you could) for a lay person?

Sr S. That's right, yes you could.

Sr B. After some initial prompting.
"It's a calling (Uhm) Isn't it? (Pause) Any sort of work that we do as a matter of fact is a vocation - yours is a vocation, isn't it? (Uhm) A nurse's work is a vocation. Ours is a religious vocation.

I. Would you see vocation as something that is, uhm, essential to jobs particularly like nursing and social work, from the lay person's point of view?

Sr B. Well I think that if people like nurses or social workers or doctors, (uhm) anybody in a professional job, if they see their work as a vocation the work is better done.(Yes). You see, what I find, and when I was doing my training too I found this, that a lot of the nurses looked on their work as uhm a career (Uh) (Slight pause) and uhm they were the ones that didn't make the best nurses. You see? (Yes) I noticed that the girls who, who really loved their work of nursing and they were devoted to their patients, and they did look on their work as a vocation, made the best nurses."

She later commented
"I think also because our work is voluntary - they know that we're doing this, this may not enter their heads, but (uhm) I think they have a vague sort of idea that we're doing it for the love of God and not for any ... any temporal gain and uh I think this makes an impression on them."

Over and over again what was stressed was that vocation was wider than just a religious vocation, but it was interesting that it was most often applied to professionals, in terms of occupation, but also to parenthood and marriage. Another common point to emerge

was some kind of clear distinction between working from a sense of vocation and just doing a job. Look at what another Sister had to say -

Sr F."Well vocation is a particular type of life that a person has an attraction to (uhm) (slight pause) you say that with mostly...vocations are supposed to be....ühm people understand vocation as a vocation to the spiritual life (uhm) but a vocation is a particular attitude and uhm turn of mind that anybody has for a thing - It's God given there as well as it's God given for a religious life (Ah yes)

I. So you would see vocation as being applied - I mean this within the lay sphere - to people doing nursing, people doing social work as well as to the specific (oh yes) religious...

Sr F. And with some its a definite vocation because uhm there's a dedication. Anybody dedicated to their work, this is their vocation (yes). It doesn't really mean just the religious life. (No).

This same sentiment is put more strongly by the following Sister-

Sr E."Well, vocation is not strictly a religious vocation. Vocation...everybody's got a vocation - you've got a vocation (Yes). It's...to me it's a call from God to do whatever, well, you have a bent for doing, but whatever He wants you to do (Yes) as well.

I. So you'd see it very much applying to spheres of lay people doing social work, doing nursing, doing... (Overriding me)

Sr E. Definitely, and those who do social work for... to help people, some do it for a job we know that don't we (Yes) and the job is finished as soon as they go home you know, that's the end (uhm) but.... and teachers are the same (Yes, yes) nurses are the same. You know, it's a dedication, it's a vocation to them, but every ... whatever people do in life it is a vocation (Yes) Parents have their vocation - God knows it's a hard one" (It is) (Laughter)

But perhaps the most commonly used phrase in connection with vocation was that of 'dedication'.

Sr A."Well, vocation can be described as a dedication (uhm), a dedication to some thing, and there is such a thing as a vocation within a vocation (uhm). You can have a vocation...and nobody can have a vocation unless they are called to a specific vocation. Like some are called to the married life, it's a vocation, just the same as any other...it's a vocation to the religious life, priesthood and whatever it may be. But it's all a vocation (yes). And then within that vocation you'll have another vocation, because you will meet a person who has a special charism, for say the aged, for young people, or for some particular ministry within their community that no-one else has that particular charism for.(Yes)

I. Would you then see, and this is talking about the lay sphere, vocation as an essential element of social work or nursing, or is it that some people certainly do...and are doing it from a sense of vocation...but others not?

Sr A. Well, that'll have to depend on the individual won't it? (Yes) Because it would be very hard for me to answer for anyone else, but I would think it would have to be a vocation, because to ... in order to be dedicated to something..because if you were dedicated to something, you will certainly, you know, have more effect on your people that your're dealing with because you're more dedicated. I know some of the people just do it probably because it's a job and they're paid for it, you know. Yes, very good certainly, but at the same time I feel it should be a vocation (.....)"

In relation to the Reception Centre, my source of information was limited to the Manager and my own observation while going round the Centre. It was very much stressed that they were Civil Servants not social workers, and by implication seemed to be saying that it was just one type of Government work, although people apply to work in this area. An element of choice does therefore enter into it. The Grade 2 assistants, who had most direct contact with the men, were recruited from the Labour Exchange and not from Civil Service ranks as were the Manager, three E.O.s, 2 C.O.s and the Cashier. In discussing their appointments, he talked of eliminating the "foot washers" (those atoning for some kind of guilt) and the'amateur psychiatrist'! If the man was still interested after all the lurid descriptions of lice, dirt, anti-social hours, abuse etc., then he explained the job. Again the implication was of positive choice to do the work - but no overtones of service or even very much positive motivation. If the man could cope with the conditions and did the job - then that was why he stayed it appeared.

The senior staff at least would appear to have a leaning in the direction of working at the Centre and have many years of experience. I was quoted a section from Circular D 120/76 which talks about the problems staff have to deal with and asks for 'patient', understanding and tolerant fellows'. Volunteers come to the Centre on a 3 month trial basis - on both sides - during which they are a mixture of functional and non-functional. A one week in-service course gives them the ethos and style of the work. The courses are run by the Social Work Service people interestingly though, but this meets with the disapproval of Managers. The latter want to see

courses run by the civil service with a social work content. Problems are seen as being on the civil service side not on the human relations side.

> "Natural compassion starts him on the road to human relations but not to being a paper person e.g., cashier."
>
> "He talked about staff being 'nose driers' not philosophers, not there to find out why the nose is running."

There is very little take up of the fortnight residential courses and this in itself says something of how staff view their work. There they were obviously encouraged to get on with the practical details of the job.

One particularly significant remark perhaps highlighted what the Manager saw as the contrast between the Reception Centre and the S.A.

> "He talked about the S.A.being run on cheap labour - the staff are in it 'for a calling'".

By implication they were not.

As with the Reception Centre, my major source of information at the S.A. Hostel was that of the Manager - a Salvation Army Officer. Contact with the other officer and both their wives was sparse. In many ways, what was most striking was the lack of overt attention drawn to the aspect of motivation for the work. This contrasted considerably with the Sisters, who without prompting during their day to day work were able to relate what they were doing to why they were doing it.

The Captain seemed genuinely surprised that the Salvation Army continued to provide hostels, given the fact that other agencies including statutory ones now did so. But he drew attentionto the element of caring. The problem here was that the men did not seem interested in care, but only wanted cheap accommodation.

> "He said that they did it (i.e., the work) because "we care for people" - they certainly weren't in it for the money."

Was he saying that vocation was the antithesis of doing work for economic reward? Certainly long hours, availability, being under obedience to one's superiors in relation to where one worked and lived and when one moved, all demand a level of dedication and self-denial that were quoted characteristics of vocation given by the Sisters.

It seemed that the word 'calling' - used in the

context of vocation - was associated in more generic terms with being a Salvation Army Officer, rather than with the specific work. In the case of the Sisters however they referred to their vocation to the Religious Life and to their vocation to the kind of work they were doing. There was more internal consistency.

The Salvation Army is divided quite distinctly into two separate services - Field, which is the equivalent of a clerical ministry, and Social. In terms of freedom of choice one can opt for one side or the other but

> "he went on to say that once one department has got you they will not be easily persuaded to let you go. Need a direct swop with someone going in opposite direction".

Social work was seen to be an expression of what they believed but it is not laid down anywhere - again the emphasis was on a 'calling' to Salvationist beliefs rather than to the work.

'Vocation' as Found in the Literature

Discussion of the concept of vocation is central to much theological and religious writing, but it is not limited to that specific context, and I would like here to draw on some of relevant material and relate it to the empirical data already outlined.

Within certain groups in society the word vocation has a definite connotation - this is particularly true of Catholic circles. This brings with it many pre-conceptions that tend to limit its meaning. I would like to examine both this narrow religious useage and a wider more general one.

Herman Hesse in 'The Glass Bead Game' provides in his concept of 'calling' an excellent model of what I am interested in.

> "While for his teachers he was already marked by distinction and on the verge of departure, he himself was conscious of his call almost entirely as a PROCESS WITHIN HIMSELF. Even so it made a clear dividing line in his life. Although the hour with the sorcerer (as he often thought of the Music Master) had only brought to fruition, or brought closer, something he had already sensed in his own heart, that hour nevertheless clearly separated the past from the present and the future - just as an awakened dreamer, even if he wakes up in the same surroundings that he has seen in his dream, cannot really doubt that he is now awake. There are many

> types and kinds of vocation, but the core of the experience is always the same; the soul is awakened by it, transformed or exalted, so that instead of dreams and presentiments from within a summons comes from without. A portion of reality presents itself and makes its claim."
> (Hesse, 1970, 58)

Hesse also refers to the element of separation and isolation that is involved in following one's calling. Reference has already been made to the separation from the world experienced by both Salvation Army officers and by the Sisters - their religious calling led them on a path which separated them from the rest of the world. Possible isolation and other negative effects which may ensue from such a policy of separation are consciously counterbalanced by increased support within the group. This was stronger and more clearly visible amongst the Sisters than the Salvation Army Officers, but so too the Sister's separation from the world was greater and more complete than the Officer.

Hesse refers to another problem associated with this isolation from others - that of guilt.

> "For everything was slipping from him without his being sure that it was not really himself who was abandonning everything. He could not say whether he should not be blaming himself for this perishing and estrangement of his dear and accustomed world. Perhaps he had killed it by ambition, by arrogance, by pride, by disloyalty and lack of love. Among the pangs inherent in a genuine vocation, these are the bitterest. One who has received the call takes, in accepting it, not only a gift and a commandment, but also something akin to guilt. Similarly, the soldier who is snatched from the ranks of his comrades and raised to the status of officer is the worthier of promotion, the more he pays for it with a feeling of guilty conscience toward his comrades."
> (Hesse, 1970, 60)

When comparing Wilson's sect characteristics with the empirical data, the concept of an "elect, gathered remnant with special enlightenment", though found to be incompatible with Catholic dogma, was nevertheless still present to a degree in the attitude of others to the Sisters. They were seen to be specially called, to be better both because of that calling and because of their

particular closeness to God in their way of life. Although the Sisters objectively knew that this was wrong theology they could not remain totally oblivious to the views around them! Like Hesse they experienced a sense of estrangement from the world, of being specially called - yet they were not given intellectual support for this feeling by any dogma. They had to explain it in some other way - one of which may be a trace of guilt for those they have 'left behind'. In the background there remains this sense of being different, and it is not always comfortable to be different!

To turn now to a specifically Catholic definition of the term we find reference to certain of our original sectarian characteristics:-

> "The recognition by an individual that a particular career (mode of life) corresponds to God's permissive or jussive will for him and is the life's work in which he can gain his eternal salvation. To this extent any career, even one that is disliked, can be a vocation, since one may have a duty to do what one finds difficult. A vocation means in particular, but not exclusively, a call to the priesthood or the religious life. This is presumed where a person has the intellectual and moral qualities appropriate to such a state of life and has chosen it for the right (disinterested and religious) motives."
>
> Concise Theological Dictionary - Rahner and Vorgrimler.

Membership is by proof of appropriate intellectual and moral qualities and by the right motivation. The fact that dislike is insufficient reason for not pursuing a particular vocation is one important factor in maintaining the totalitarian hold of the Community on its members. They joined voluntarily, it is true, but they can be made to feel that in leaving they are going against God's call, are being selfish or they may be made to feel a failure in not measuring up to what they have been called. Potent reasons for thinking twice about leaving! This feature of religious life, although lessening in the present day, still ensures that they can be very closely identified with Goffman's 'total institution'. (Goffman 1969).

The above definition uses 'career' as quite compatible with the idea of vocation, but I was interested

to find one of the Sisters using it as the antithesis. To her 'career' seemed to be linked with self-interest, pursuing a search for more money, and becoming bound up in this process rather than in those for whom you were working - in other words she wished to place the emphasis on the clients or recipients of help while she saw 'careerists' as being more interested in their own selfish goals. Was this particular interpretation and use of the word indicative of some kind of denigration of secular life, part of a belief that wordly pursuits were somehow bad? An example perhaps of thinking linked to the idea of "an elect, gathered remnant".

Andrew Greeley in his book The Hesitant Pilgrim refers to yet another aspect of potential conflict faced by the Religious, that of skilled professionalism and being a good Religious. In theory there is no conflict but he goes on to say

> "However, in religious orders today, there is all too frequently a conflict between one's development as a religious and one's development as a professional".
> (Greeley, 1966, 130)

That is questioning, probing, being sceptical versus being docile and unquestioning, the latter characteristics which are seen to prevent potential disruption of tight-knit communities, the reason why spontaneity is discouraged. Very few of the Sisters had professional social work training, although most had been through some form of nurses training. The latter however is far more hierarchically structured and itself requires unquestioning acceptance.

> "Nurses put up with bad equipment as just another test of their endurance, adjusting themselves to it, rather than flouting the hierarchy by asking for adjustment...Tradition expects a nurse to laugh over stupid equipment, not to complain." (Gerda Cohen 1964 quoted in a footnote in Nokes, 1967, 28)

Before leaving the specifically religious interpretation of the word vocation it is helpful to look briefly at what can be derived from the concept of vocation in the Bible. This is discussed in The Theology of Vocations by Charles Schleck (1963). Six elements seem to emerge and these same elements remain present in a more up to date analysis. They can be itemised as such :-

1. It is directed toward a particular task or office or mission
2. It is made known through a divine revelation
3. It includes an assurance and promise of divine protection and assistance necessary for its accomplishment
4. It includes the possibility, indeed the promise at times, of persecution or opposition of some kind or other
5. It includes above all a total commitment that demands renunciation especially of wealth
6. It is rewarding and assures one who is faithful to it of intimate association with the work of God here below and of eternal life in the world to come.

All these ideas were either explicitly or implicitly expressed by the Sisters and the Salvation Army, but it has already been intimated that there remains a distinction between these two groups, notwithstanding their similarities.

Undoubtedly the Salvation Army saw their work as a vocation, 'a sacred trust' as General Orsborn would say.

> "With us, officership is not a job but a vocation. a sacred trust. Fundamental to this is the importance we concede to a person's claim to be called of God, and we, therefore, hold his call as sacred, unless he himself renders it ineffectual."
> (Orsborn, 1958, 40)

As with the Sisters this calling was to a total way of life - although I would still maintain there is some difference in degree.

> "The nature of the Salvationist's calling is such that it requires all-in all-out consecration. He does not keep his religion in a separate compartment, to be used only on Sundays. It comes into the whole of his life; work, worship, home, play, social behaviour, nothing is excluded."
> (Orsborn, 1958, 106-7)

Another General - Frederick Coutts - stresses the same vocation of all officers.

> "None is there except in obedience to an initial divine compulsion."
> (Coutts, 1976, 193).

But bound up in any idea of vocation or calling is this idea that it involves something more than just doing. Strauss talks about the fact that to be deeply involved in a course of action is to 'care', to be concerned, to

be identified with it. In the words of Kenneth Burke

> "action is not merely a means of doing but a way of being".
>
> (A Grammar of Motives - quoted Strauss, 1969. 40)

Such commitment inevitably brings with it an element of sacrifice.

But what of the wider concept of Christian vocation. Berger in The Noise of Solemn Assemblies tackles briefly the problem of distinguishing the specific and the general.

> "Involvement with organized religion is a Christian Vocation.
> The Proposition calls for further explication. It does not really make sense to say that loving one's neighbour is a Christian vocation. Every Christian is commanded to love his neighbour. But not every Christian is called to do so as, say, a nurse. To be a nurse, consequently, is a Christian vocation, in the senseof being the calling in which some Christians will seek to express their commitment. By the same token, other Christians are not so called and will feel free to walk on other roads. The above proposition intends to be understood in the same way."
>
> (Berger, 1961, 174)

The Sisters readily saw other roles as being a vocation.

The confusion we saw earlier regarding the use of the word career and vocation in relation to their connection with money is perhaps clarified in a final definition of vocation taken from the New Catholic Enclycopaedia (1967).

> "A vocation originally meant a calling to a particular task in life. This meaning is still current in relation to those who are called to religious life or to those whofeel "an imperious inclination" to devote themselves to a social need. This use of the term always implies the necessary aptitude for the work, and is expressed in the dictum of the scholastics, gratia supponit naturam. Vocation is frequently confused with occupation, a term reserved for an activity in which a person regularly engages for pay. More precisely, an occupation is a group of similar jobs in several establishments; a job is a group of similar positions in one plant, business, institution, or other workplace; and a position is a set of tasks performed by one person."
>
> (Entry under Vocational Psychology)

To move now into the more specifically secular area - Peter Nokes in his book The Professional Task in Welfare Practice considers at length the relationship of Profession and Vocation. Although he is specifically talking about welfare professions such as school teaching,

mental hospital psychiatry and prison and borstal work, the discussion is also pertinent to those under study here. What is central to his thesis is that

> "welfare practice seems to be conducted in response to moral rather than to pragmatic considerations"
> (Nokes, 1967, 23)

Historically this was undoubtedly true, but like much other writing on the secular application of the concept of vocation, when matched to the empirical data there seem to be discrepancies.

The ethos of such professions is certainly firmly rooted in the belief that society is morally obligated to provide for certain categories of need, and that purely pragmatic or economic considerations should not be paramount. However, given the complexity and inevitable bureaucracy of many of the organisations now involved in distributing such aid and at a time of economic constraint, pragmatic considerations are becoming far more prominent. In an age too where unemployment is significantly high, altruistic motives of service to others are not always the prime factor in people applying for jobs within the welfare professions.

Having said this, it is still useful to examine some of the concepts that Nokes puts forward. Central to his argument is the 'sacramental component' of such work, which leads people to claim that such work is not just a job, that it is not purely instrumental. This is similar language to that used by Hesse -

> "He had experienced his vocation, which may surely be spoken of as a sacrament."
> (Hesse, 1970, 56)

It would be hard to detect such a component within the work of the Reception Centre - a Government agency fulfilling statutory obligations to its clients. Men and women volunteered to work there, but it appeared to be just one of many alternatives within the Civil Service. However, within the Social Services Department, there was a feeling that they were suited to the particular kind of work, with the implication that there was an added dimension not found in factory work, for example.

Nokes states:-

> "Our Welfare services seem to have grown up in response to moral as much as to merely utilitarian

> considerations. Both for those who established them and for those who work in them these services have always been considered more than means to limited and precisely formulated ends; they have been expressions of moral values, of ideas of the Good. Hence they have always been required to meet two quite different sets of requirements, to meet the needs not only of those who receive benefit, but also of those who provide it."
>
> (Nokes, 1967, 23)

What he describes is certainly true of the religious sector, but did those working in the secular field experience this sacramental component? I would suggest that there is an implicit reference to it in the policy and historical development of their respective agencies but that its presence is minimal in the actual experience of workers today.

Parallels can indeed be drawn between the development of the nursing profession in the 19th Century and Religious Orders, but even that picture is now changing. The Sisters, many of whom were trained in the nursing profession, would vouch for a distinction between those who had some sense of vocation and those who were in it just for a job.

Following from his idea of a 'sacramental component' Nokes claims certain consequences for such welfare services. Precise or limited goals are not set, and there is resistance to thinking pragmatically about means and ends in relation to policy. Once again, this describes most clearly the stance adopted by the Sisters and to a lesser extent the Salvation Army, but not the secular agencies. Bureaucracy, accountability, corporate management - all combine to ensure that the opposite is true.

He continues -

> "The sacramental component also partly explains the variety of admission policy that is so common a feature of the welfare professions...Closely tied up with the notion that the welfare professions are not 'just jobs' is the idea of vocation. It is not long since prison 'welfare' and education alike were the province of the chaplain ...This background may partly explain the almost universal appearance of sacramental qualifications for practice. Fitness is typically fitness to serve, and this is often felt to be dependent less on any technical skills than on a state of being, or on external signs that are presumed to indicate such a state."
>
> (Nokes, 1967, 24)

True, within the past, church attendance and good moral standing within the society would have been influential factors in many social work appointments, but this has changed. The emphasis is more on competence for the particular position for which they are applying, rather than religious or moral qualifications.

Nokes refers too to considerable resistance to the concept of efficiency being applied to such work. This, it would appear, still holds good. On the individual level, workers do refer to 'personal satisfaction', and it would be extremely difficult to evaluate social work of any form in terms of efficiency. The work is necessarily of a qualitative rather than quantitative kind. High aspirations are encouraged, as we saw they were in the religious sphere of Order and Sect.

> "Aims, then, refer not so much to the planning of feasible social provision as to the personal ethics of the practitioner."
> (Nokes, 1967, 26)

Nokes relates this quite properly to staff morale, for where goals are set very high there is more chance of failure. Many people enter such professions because of the challenge and the demands that will be made on them - but this too brings its problems.

> "Precisely because such people are admired for doing this it is generally considered somewhat bad form to focus too detached an eye on their efforts, and their actual effectiveness. And this permits us to assume that the idealism that brought them into the work always lasts."
> (Nokes, 1967, 26)

This aspect was particularly true of the Sisters - there was something almost unacceptable about questionning their effectiveness.

Finally, Nokes argues that by setting high goals, practitioners and organisations are almost inevitably going to be inefficient, if efficiency is measured in terms of the relationship between objectives and achievements.

> "Few social agencies can live up to the high aspirations that many would set them. It may be objected that this kind of inefficiency is admissable. The Christian tradition requires us to give and not to count the cost. The secular version of this philosophy is that if we do not aim at a star we are unlikely to hit even a minor planet."
> (Nokes, 1967, 27)

Neither, he argues is it usual to plan for human limitations, for

> "The ethical background of welfare practice rests on a belief that with God's help all is possible, faith alone can move mountains. Hence the ethical tradition is hostile to planning, for planning becomes an impiety."
> (Nokes, 1967, 27)

While, I feel that Nokes has rightly identified this 'sacramental' strand within the welfare professions, I consider that it is more to be found in the ethos and historical background than in the day to day practice of modern secular social work. Nokes wishes to place the idea of vocation as diametrically opposed to professionalism, this is questionable. As we say earlier, in some contexts vocation can block professional development, but it is dangerous to generalise. However, one cannot deny the continuing presence of somewhat elusive remnants of the past.

> "And long after the specifically Christian basis of welfare practice has disappeared these attitudes survive in various secular philosophies. The welfare professions continue to draw heavily on the goodwill of their practitioners because of the prevalence of theories that seem to imply that people are infinitely flexible provided you go about it the right way; theories that appear to stress the paramount importance of good human relations and the 'right approach' above all else. These have the convenient consequence that one never has to think about the nature of the organizational setting within which the practitioner works; more importantly that human limitations never need be budgeted for."
> (Nokes, 1967, 28)

But it is to that very organizational setting that I shall return.

Although there is obviously a close historical connection between social work and religious motives, I remain disturbed by the attempts of many writers (e.g., Rodgers and Dixon 1960) to necessarily equate the two today. Yes, undoubtedly there are many convinced Christians operating within secular organisations from a specific sense of vocation, but also there are many who are not. Whilst maintaining this, it should not then follow that the church dissociates herself from those not specifically working in her name.

> "When it comes to meeting human need out of concern for the worth of persons, there should be no room for distinction between sacred and secular effort."
> (Miller, 1961, 154)

> "The church has a unique opportunity and responsibility in its relationship with social workers. In few, if any, professions other than that of social work are so large a proportion of the personnel to be found with motivations and commitments so fully in harmony with the vocational ideals which the church has long proclaimed."
> (Miller, 1961, 154/5)

They are certainly in harmony but they are not necessarily expressing an overtly religious belief.

The average social worker today is not interested in traditional religion. This was a fact backed up by the empirical work with the Social Services staff. But despite this Niebuhr points out

> "he is probably engaged in social work precisely because that vocation is to him the most logical means of expressing his sense of mission to mankind, which has been aroused by the religion of his youth....Many have found in their ministrations to the needy a practical substitute, not only for the types of social ministry traditionally associated with religious vocations, but for the more specifically religious disciplines and practices."
> (Niebuhr, 1932, 61)

Niebuhr argues quite cogently that the social worker still needs the insights of religion for his own sanity, given the difficult pressures and frustrations of his work. Like Hesse, he talks of the possibility of vocation existing without any conscious relationship to traditional religion. It is salutary to remind ourselves of the strength of a genuine religious motivation even today

> "The fact that genuine religion still prompts many to enter social work in religious organizations in which financial rewards are absolutely at a minimum or, as in the case of the Catholic orders, nonexistent, proves how powerful religion is in strengthening the vocational against the commercial motive in life."
> (Niebuhr, 1932, 71)

In many ways I would agree with Miller that it is somewhat surprising that the Church

> "has not maintained a more consistent definition of the social worker's vocation as an especially sacred 'calling', to be ranked alongside that of

> the Minister, the missionary, and the director of religious education. There was surely early and sufficient precedent in the office of deacon, as established in the church of the first century, for so ranking the profession."
> (Miller, 1961, 156)

It is worth remembering too the impact of a specifically Protestant theology, whereby anyone who was called to serve God in a secular agency was just as acceptable as those working professionally for the Church. (Miller 1961) This is obviously a result of a Protestant view which sees government as 'one of the orders of creation ordained by God.'

And it is very much in this vein that Weber writes of 'vocation.' In his essay "Politics as Vocation", Weber makes an interesting distinction between living "for" and living "off" politics. I feel that this distinction provides a useful analytical tool when contrasting the Sisters and their secular counterparts.

> "There are two ways of making politics one's vocation: either one lives "for" politics or one lives "off" politics. By no means is this contrast an exclusive one. The rule is, rather, that man does both, at least in thought, and certainly he also does both in practice. He who lives "for" politics makes politics his life, in an <u>internal sense.</u> Either he enjoys the naked possession of the power he exerts, or he nourishes his inner balance and self feeling by the consciousness that his life has meaning in the service of a "cause". The distinction hence refers to a much more substantial aspect of the matter, namely, to the economic. He who strives to make politics a permanent source of income lives "off" politics as a vocation, whereas he who does not do this lives "for" politics."
> (Weber, 1968, 9)

Weber continues by making the point that it is obviously necessary to be economically independent of one's vocation if one is to live "for" politics. The Sisters did indeed have the economic base to do this given the structure of their community. It would therefore seem quite valid to talk of the Sisters living "for" social work and the secular bodies living "off" social work.

Weber, in his other essay on 'Science as a Vocation' (Weber in Gerth & Mills, 1970) also makes reference to the fact that passionate devotion is a sign of 'calling'.

Significantly, one of the Sisters in her explanation of her understanding of the concept of vocation referred to devotion to one's clients as being a hall mark of vocation.

Berger, referring to Weber's work in this area, has made an analysis of the secularisation of vocation in the context of work, and I intend to return to his argument when considering the Perceptions of Work in more detail.

Other sociologists have used the term 'commitment' (notably Becker 1960) to try to account for the fact that people engage in "consistent lines of activity", but Becker would hold that though related to 'vocation' the term remains distinguishable. Is it in fact a secular form of vocation?

Attitudes to the Family

After our consideration of the concept of vocation, we turn now to the four categories that emerge <u>from</u> the data (Discovery of Grounded Theory). These are attitudes to the family; to death and dying; the sociology and psychology of clothes and finally the concept of genericism.

Since the Industrial Revolution, the family has been central to all forms of social work - both secular and religious. Indeed its importance pre-dates even this within certain strands of social work development.

Seed (1973) attributes the 'Keeping the family together' slogan of the Fifties and Sixties in part to three factors. War had meant large scale separation of families which was now to be counterbalanced. Separation was associated with the Poor Law, which was to be replaced. Thirdly,the social conditions of the Nineteenth Century had left a legacy that the welfare state was pledged to erase.

The centrality of the family formed a part of the Sister's ideology too which was to emerge very strongly, and it is therefore appropriate to explore the way in which each group appeared to relate to the concept of 'family'.

The emphasis here, as in other instances, is necessarily on the empirical data for it was this that drew attention to the ideology. Subsequently brief reference will be made to supporting evidence in doctrine and social policy, but that is not the intended focus.

For the Sisters, their guiding principle was service to the family. In fact in one part of the country they are known as the Family Service Sisters. Unlike many communities institutional service was never envisaged. They, right from the start, took the more direct approach of serving people in their own homes. Although specifically a nursing congregation, their Founder intended that they should not limit themselves to nursing alone. If children needed to be looked after, if the meals needed cooking, if the washing and ironing had to be done - all this and much more was accepted as their work.

Their Centenary's booklet was entitled "100 Years in the Service of the Family". In this publication, their founder is described as

> "a"man fired by the vision of a better world based on the sanctity and dignity of family life, harmony between the classes and charity among all men.

In these words he charged his Sisters

> "To work in and through the family that the people may be restored to God".

He was convinced that family and social evils were linked together, and that the only solution was to bring Christianity into the home.

> "The special mission of the ....Sister is to bring Christ to the Family that the Family may be brought to Christ."

To the individual, then to the family, then to society - this was how Christ was to be brought to all.

> "In the midst of the family, she must be 'all to all' in her triple role as trained nurse, domestic and social worker".

> "The FAMILY is the basic cell of society - the most vital cell in the Church".

Is it little wonder then, that in watching the Sisters at work, that one is left with an impression that the family is indeed central.

> "Whatever our activity we are concerned by all that affects the Family."

The Sisters, even in the 1970's, continually demonstrated their faithful adherence to the instructions of their Founder. Numerous references could be given from the Research Notes to indicate this point, but due to constraints of space one must suffice.

> "She talked broadly of the centrality of the family in their work - however times have changed and they now have to go looking for the family. They may specialise in working with elderly, but always with the aspect of helping their existing family to cope if possible. Also she referred to one Sister who was going to do her training at....so that on her return she could work with families with handicapped children. Throughout all this the family - and their work with it, in its many forms - was paramount."

> "Sr....earlier in the day had talked about going out to find where the family was - in these days of broken homes &c., you couldn't expect to find the same united family all in the same place as before."

But what of the other groups?

For the Salvation Army, there was evidence too of a family centred approach. This was not as extensive as that instanced above, but it must be remembered that the Army's sphere of work was primarily with those who by definition were without, or separated from, their families - the single homeless. As Collier (1965) reminds us in 'The General Next to God' - Booth was the <u>only</u> family man to found a giant religious organization!

The particular hostel studied was actually attached to a Family Service Centre, as is the case with a number of them. Here there were regular sales each week of secondhand furniture, clothes, shoes etc. This 'salvage' operation as it was known not only served a useful community function in its own right, but helped to cover running costs for the hostel.

> "Money seems to be paid into a central fund, but he regards the money they raise in Salvage as balancing out the debts of the hostel. (His wife had talked about the fact that Gas Central Heating meant that they would never run the Hostel at a profit...."

Salvation Army Officers (permitted only to marry other officers) are now appointed as couples to run the hostels, and so in one sense it is a family concern.

This has many advantages, but also brings its own burden of personal family responsibilities.

While at the Reception Centre, the Salvation Army Hostel was contrasted with its own avowedly institutional administration -

> "He talked about the S.A.being run on cheap labour - the staff are in it 'for a calling'. They have a community home style, with more self help. The Admin. of the place is therefore very different."

In the words of the S.A. officer too

> "He saw the work as making a <u>home</u> for the men - and if they wanted advice, providing this and spiritual help - but only if requested."

But making it a home, could involve your own children. This was a decision which faced all officers, many like this particular Manager, seeing it as a positive role. Others, like the Assistant, conciously chose only to bring their children for Sunday worship, leaving immediately afterwards.

> "There was also a difference between them in the access they permitted their children to the hostel - the Manager and his wife as I had seen, felt the children could play a part in the hostel by just being around. The Assistant and his wife on the other hand only brought their children to Sunday meetings and then took them straight home. Both Mrs.X and later the Captain were anxious to make the point that there was no danger of the children being hurt by the men (one incident in fact had occurred with their eldest girl, now 6½) but the man who had hit her was forced to leave immediately by the other men). This I had taken for granted and had not thought in terms of danger, but of perhaps other sorts of influence, but their need seemed to be to justify their actions on the physical danger point. When I queried how other officers reacted she said that it was a personal decision, but she seemed to be saying that a lot fell in with their line of thinking."

The Manager's youngest girl was 2½ and obviously very popular with the men. On my second visit I witnessed her fairly free mingling with the men

> "Two older men came into the hostel and were enthusiastically greeted by a quite chatty Lucy..On the way down the room an old man got up and without a word handed a bar of chocolate to Lucy, who was coaxed to say thank you - she is obviously very popular and spoilt by the men."

Problems could arise however with the frequent moves normally expected of officers and their wives. Moves - or the issue of 'Marching Orders' in the Army's terminology seemed to evoke strong feelings in everyone. Tension was a common reaction in all the officers I spoke to.

> "She talked of the terrific strain that moves could impose on you - the week they're coming out 'you don't sleep all week'....She said they were not expecting one and she would refuse anyway as she was expecting the baby in October and was moving for no-one two months before it was born....She said that the Army did take into consideration the education of the older children, but if you were a young couple you were expected to move frequently".

There were it seemed limits to blind obedience!

I had been interested in how an officer's wife fitted into the work -

> "He explained that officers can only marry officers so both have their own calling. The hostels always appoint couples now - it is a joint appointment with a joint salary (the latter is having to be looked at because of the new Sex Equality Acts!) He saw the wife as having an important role to play although it is not laid down in the same way as the man's - his is that he is expected to run the hostel 'keep it clean, quiet and full'. His wife by being around can introduce the warmth that for many men is lacking - they are without love."

All this substantiated the promotion of a family ethos - I was less happy with his other view of a wife's role. He continued by saying:-

> "the men confide in her more readily - she can be an'informant' - although he did go on to point out that the man has to be careful that he never reveals that his information comes from his wife:"

Christmas as the epitome of family festivals was seen as a good opportunity for making the men feel more at home.

> "I then talked about the attitude to children - for the same reason he feels that they should be encouraged to mix. He cited on Christmas Day that they traditionally give the men free dinner and tea, and sometimes free supper! They have some sort of party and also buy the men a Christmas Present - the men had given Lucy a tremendous number of toys."

However, there was an element in this that made me somewhat uneasy. Referring to the above point I noted at the time -

> "(The way this was said, rather like the chocolate episode earlier in the day made me somewhat uneasy - it sounded a bit too much taken for granted and almost a form of exploitation.) Obviously the men spoil the children."

As I left the hostel after my visits, I couldn't help remarking on the notice on the door of the Family Service Centre

> "In the interest of safety children must not be brought into the Centre.

I idly wondered what Mum was supposed to do with them!

It is perhaps not that surprising to find the family cited as an important concept, albeit not always lived up to, amongst religious organisations, for it is central to Christian theology.

'Honour thy father and thy mother' is the 5th Commandment, and provides an impetus for much of the emphasis that is placed on the family.

The interaction of family and society is something which concerns A.H.Denney (1965) in an article on 'Pastoral Care and Social Work' - for him the family has

> "a very real significance for, and responsibility to, the society in which it lives."
>
> "It seems clear to me that the Christian Gospel threw the family open to society, and emphasised the necessity of applying to the outside world precisely those factors which are known to be the bedrock of family relationships. It has also imposed upon the community the responsibility for meeting the needs of all its members wherever these needs are evident - the suffering of one member carrying with it the suffering of the whole body.
>
> In our society therefore, the weakness of the family must be borne by the strength of the society, and if society is not strong the family will disintegrate under the weight of the burden it has to bear."
>
> (Denney, 1965, 84)

For Catholics the model of The Holy Family is cited as an inspiration to all, and reference to the centrality of the Family is made in many of the Documents of Vatican II, notably Gaudium et Spes. (Abbott, 1966) There is a family orientation to many appeals - Family Fast Days - and to much charitable work. Amongst Irish Catholics - the centrality of the Family is paramount.

Schlesinger's biography of Robert Kennedy makes this very point

> "Irish politics incorporated the code of the family..Most important in securing life, along with the family, was the Church. The sense of disorder, tragedy and evil was not unlike that of the Puritans, three centuries earlier. But what the Puritans had placed on the isolated soul in the quest for salvation the Irish assigned to the family and the Church."
> (Extract from Sunday Times, Oct.29 1978. p33)

Social policy, too, in recent decades has not ignored the family. "The family to be kept together at all costs", "Family Benefits to be improved" and so on. However, for the non-qualified staff of the Social Services - such policies were remote. But their own attitudes and instincts provided the same message.

Talking of families, the young female Neighbourhood Aid bewailed the drifting apart of modern families and saw this in strong contrast to the more cohesive Asian families in her area.

> "we're drifting far apart....I suppose because people are moving to all,to different areas where the work is and families are gradually drifting apart. I know my family just exists - my Mum and Dad, and me and my sister and brother and all my relatives are either in Ireland or Poland - we've got one great aunt in England and that's all (laughter) so you know, so I've never known a big family at all, you know all relatives coming in for Christmas, it's just existed with just six of of us in fact."

In fact, her own personal family seemed relatively cohesive.

Amongst the Social Services staff studied, they were often in a position of seeing only the negative side of family life in modern society, i.e., forgotten grand-parents and neglected children. The Welfare Assistant even saw her role as protecting the elderly from their families at times.

Talking of assessing admissions to homes for the elderly she said

> "I also ask the families and try and point out to families that it's what the elderly want to do that's my concern and not just the families' - what the family want to do."

One neighbourhood aid seemed to genuinely enjoy visiting the elderly, and I am sure that for some of her clients she was a grand-daughter who they sorely missed.

Finally, the Reception Centre was self-confessedly institutional - the very opposite of a family setting. As such there is little or nothing to examine in this regard.

Attitudes to Death and Dying

Given the high proportion of elderly clients and patients served by the Sisters and Social Service staff, it is relevant to consider in some detail their respective attitudes to death and dying. This was an event, with which of necessity, they would be faced. How did they deal with the feelings thatthis evoked?

Within the Sisters, I was able to observe their attitude not only in terms of patients but also of one of their own members, who throughout my research was close to death on several occasions through illness.

The prevailing attitude was that of death being a natural event, one which could be openly discussed and something for which one could prepare.

During one of my visits

> "Asked how Sr C was - was having several heart attacks some days. Was annointed not long ago, in their own chapel. Is apparently quite prepared to die."

Later

> "There was a very open discussion of Sr C's heart attacks in her presence that had not occurred before...Death was referred to in a very natural way that wouldn't occur elsewhere."

This same Sister had just prior to this conversation insisted on doing night duty with a dying patient herself and could not be deterred to the consternation of some of her fellow Sisters! Although she would half-admit to me that she wasn't "feeling too good these days", in my presence she always maintained a very bright facade in spite of everything.

The Sisters accepted it as quite normal to attend the funerals of their patients, but unfortunately I have no material which would indicate if this was a policy adopted by the Welfare Assistant too. Certainly I heard no reference to it during my period of involvement.

> "News was exchanged about two patients who had died - one death I already knew about from last week and one woman with a brain haemorrhage who was expected to die. The Sisters had been to both funerals including one in the Anglican Church in .... - several of the priests from their own parish had also been there and this fact was commented on as being good."

There were two particular instances in which I was able to see the Sister's attitude to death quite clearly demonstrated during visits to dying patients.

The first was an elderly couple, the husband ill with cancer, who was being nursed by his wife. The Sisters had received the referral from a social worker and had arranged to do night duty once a week. During a day time visit to make arrangements the following interaction occurred

> "After our visit I plied Sr A with certain medical queries and she seemed quite happy to explain how this man could be kept alive, how long he could survive &c. I toyed with the idea of raising the really ethical question about how long you should try to keep him going by artificial means - but felt that perhaps the time was not appropriate. There had been a little reference to this in our conversation, when leaving, with his wife. She commented that it was very wicked to be saying it even, but she wished he could be released from his suffering. I was extremely pleased when Sr A went out of her way to reassure the woman that it was natural that she should not want to see a loved one suffering, and that it was not wicked. She went on to try and put it in the context of God's will, and the fact that He would never let you down."

The second case was one in which several of the Sisters had been involved in night duty. Again during a brief social call during the day I noted

> "This was interesting to see how Sr G dealt with a patient who was obviously dying - quite young too - and afterwards we alluded to the attitude you should have in treating the dying - do you tell them or not.It seems that particularly with the people who do night duty - there is a request by the patients to say prayers with them - both from Catholics and non-catholics. However it was quite clear that they all (i.e., the Sisters involved) felt that the request had to come from the patient."

Keeping an eye on elderly people who they knew to be living on their own did however bring its own responsibilities and hazards.

> "As an afterthought when we had got back to the convent - we walked round the corner to check on an old lady - who they keep an eye on. There was no response to our initial knocking and without saying anything I feared we might find she'd died (apparently so had Sr A) anyway after

some more persistent knocking a face appeared through an upstairs window and the old lady explained she was having a rest - she obviously wasn't looking for visitors! Having ascertained she was still alive we left. This incident provoked Sr A to recount an incident in Ireland - in which a case in which they were involved had an accident and she said that this provoked all sorts of questions from the police &c. It seems that if they know that someone has been visiting they seem to almost hold them accountable - whether this is really true here I'm not sure. Obviously this is a very difficult position - as they cannot reasonably be expected to bang on every old person's door they know each day on the offchance that something is wrong."

Although this issue is not directly related to the Sister's attitude to death, it arises as a direct result of their work with elderly and dying people. Within the community, a list of anniversaries (i.e., of Sisters' deaths) was always read before the midday meal as part of grace, and presumably served to remind Sisters of those who they should particularly remember in their prayers.

It was in conversation with the Welfare Assistant that I received the clearest impression of more secular attitudes to death. She had come across death not only in her present job, but when she was working as a physio-aid at the hospital. It was in her ability to cope with this that I detected a definite change and one could even say personal growth.

> "I loved the work in the hospital,(.....) I got to a point where as much as I was enjoying the job there were different things that used to upset me. Now this sounds stupid but I used to get, find myself getting over fond of people who would then die (Int.Yes) and uh.... Iused to sit down and think why on earth am I doing this job, and uhm I wanted to do something a bit more, you know, and then this job I saw advertised and applied for it and I thought that way I'd be doing a similar type of work, but it will be with a lot of different age groups and different people (uhm) and I applied and there where did I get back (laughter) to the aged, but I'd learned to accept death and .... (uhm) and I'd got over the emotional state that I used to get in you know, and quite often see death as a different sort of situation now than I did when I first went into it, (yes), but on my first day in the hospital and a patient was dying and I went home and I said I'm never going back because, you know, I really hadn't thought about people dying until then (no) but you know its changed."

The technique she claimed to use was to rationalize things

> "She admitted to getting depressed when the old people - she worked at .... - died. She said that this still happened in this job but she could rationalise this better now - they'd had a good life etc."

As a Welfare Assistant she was often involved in tying up things, should an elderly person die leaving no relatives who would do the necessary tasks. Not that this was a popular part of her work:

> "It appears that several more of W's elderly clients have died and she is often left with sorting out the house and effects if no relatives exist. I would think that this could be a lengthy business. W didn't seem to relish the idea much."

However one aspect of death and bereavement in modern society did emerge - there was a strong expectation that the Church had an obligation and role to fulfill, particularly in relationship to the elderly. Although she was expressing obviously a personal opinion, it was one mirrored in the views of her colleagues too.

She used to believe that people were exposed to religion when they were children, drifted away and then as they got older gradually returned.

> "However her experience seems to disprove this. She has never been asked by the elderly to contact the Church and finds a number disillusioned with Church after either a bereavement when they felt that the Church had not cared when they were in need, or were housebound and the Vicar had never bothered to come and see them. It seemed in some of the instances that were quoted that the church couldn't claim the excuse that they hadn't known. I tried to press her as to whether this disillusionment with the Church as an institution cum organisation also meant a disillusionment with faith/belief. This was never really clarified - partly I think because W. seemed in many ways to equate religion with church going."

She returned to this view that the Church had a particular responsibility for the elderly in the interview.

> "Int. In your view does the church, no particular denomination, have a role to perform in social work?
>
> W.A. (Slight pause) Yea,...I suppose it does in their community or.. (uhm) I .. my own personal opinion, for what it's worth, I don't think they do enough. I .. I get a lot of my old people feeling very hurt that the vicar hasn't paid them a visit, one in particular her husband died and

> the vicar had been in once while he was very ill and he hadn't even been in when he'd died. I don't think the vicars go round the elderly people enough (yes) and I think the elderly people uhm get hurt by this. I think they could visit the elderly a lot more than they do."

This is primarily quoted to indicate the Welfare Assistant's perception of the role of the Church, rather than an attempt to substantiate any personal shortcomings of a particular minister. It was the Church's business to be involved with death.

There was only one overt reference to death in my involvement with the Salvation Army, which is instanced below, and none at all at the Reception Centre.

In my introductory discussion with the Salvation Army Captain, he described his own experiences while working in Southern Ireland, and the Catholic/Protestant relationships that this necessarily entailed.

> "They had won their own personal acceptances - people acknowledging them, in or out of uniform, in the street, after his wife had laid out an old Catholic lady who lived in the nearby cottages. This was taken as a great gesture of respect."

This particular instance hints at the basic differences that are present in Catholic and Protestant theology as regards death and dying.

Obviously both theologies are united in their central belief in the existence of an after life. Entry to such after life (salvation) is however seen in very different terms. For the Salvationist, as with most Evangelical Protestant groups, you are saved by Grace, that is in accepting Christ as your personal Saviour and not by any merit of your own. Heaven and Hell exist, although in modern times fears of the latter state are perhaps more mildly expressed. For the Salvationist he is 'Promoted to Glory'. Death is a more private, individual affair.

For the Catholic, emphasis on the means of salvation is placed on a living faith - grace informing one's belief. More traditionally expressed in the stereotyped wording of Good Works. There is a strong belief in the efficacy of Sacraments, totally absent amongst Salvationists, and a belief in the utility of praying for the dead. The latter is perhaps linked with the belief in Purgatory - an intermediate state through which souls are prepared for Heaven, one means being

through the intercession of others. It must be pointed out though that this particular dogma is not so rigidly affirmed today as in the past, although it would be accurate to suggest that the Sisters belonged to a segment of the Catholic population who would. Death is a far more communal event (although some cultural bias is also evident here, with deaths being more communal in Ireland than perhaps in England). Modern theology also places the emphasis in life and death on community, and on the idea of celebration of death. For death is a beginning not an end, there are no worries for the dead, only for those left behind.

The Sociology and Psychology of Clothes

> "Clothes resemble language because, like language, they are interpersonal communication."
> (Reidy, 1968, 47)

Many people these days may dismiss what people wear for their work as unimportant. At best they may allude to purely pragmatic considerations - it obviously makes sense for those involved in dirty work to protect either themselves or other clothes with some kind of overall. However, beyond that, rarely are the clothes people wear seen as significant.

For two of the groups studied, namely The Sisters and the Salvation Army, I would suggest that what they wore day by day had an impact on their clients and the rest of society. It can be viewed as a uniform, and like other uniforms, it set them apart - marked them out as different.

Was this thought useful or helpful by those who wore them? For the Sisters the answer to this was clearly 'Yes'.

> "Int. How else...do you think that they see you as different? (i.e., from other agencies)
>
> Sr.D. I don't think they would if we hadn't a habit (slight pause) because people come up to us in the street, if we're waiting for a bus or anything, come and tell us all sorts of things but they wouldn't if I were dressed like you. (Yes) And if we do ever go from the habit I think it will make a big difference, I don't know."

This particular Sister was elderly, but it was not just her reluctance to face change, I felt, that made her cling to the habit.

Another Sister, voiced what is commonly given as a reason for retaining a distinctive habit.

> "There is something. I find that people, uh, people have the impression that there is something special about us. This is why I'm very much opposed to us going into secular dress, because I think that the religious habit means something to people outside. We're kind of, we're people set apart if you like, you know, and I think this, this is what gives people more confidence in us you know. I may be wrong but I have that feeling."

The wearing of the habit did proclaim to the world that they were Religious - set apart and dedicated to God. In most societies this automatically assigned them to a respected status in the community, and provided them with easy access into homes.

Margaret Mead would apparently concur with this view - in an article entitled 'Margaret Mead Looks at the Modern Sister' this statement is made

> "Is the habit important or necessary for a Sister? .....The habit, Dr Mead said, figures prominently in her impressions regarding the freedom of Sisters. A distinctive manner of dressing, she continued, possibly enhances the kind of freedom conducive to creative and innovative living by quite frankly affording a protection that enables the wearers to 'raise a little more Cain' ... she does not perceive the habit as a protection in the sense of an insulation from the realities of the wider society. But rather, she perceives it as an outward indication of the legitmacy and validity of the wearer's innovative and creative role. It does this, she said, by serving as <u>a recognizable symbol of a service commitment</u> ostensibly free fromself-interest and it thus evokes a more permissive response from others. A habit is comfortably explicit - and there is need for such explicit statements in our increasingly ambiguous world."
>
> Obery, 1968, 69)

However it is this aspect of setting apart, which for some Religious has been interpreted as an unnecessary barrier. They have advocated that nuns should return to wearing ordinary clothes. Most would accept that in the interests of a Vow of Poverty these clothes should be simple, perhaps even store-bought black and white clothes. In the article from which the quotation at the beginning of the Chapter was taken, there is a clear argument in

direct opposition to the philosophies I heard with the Sisters. It is claimed that better communication, especially with young lay adults and plain good happiness comes from wearing ordinary clothes.

The Second Vatican Council 'Decree for Religious' re-opened the discussion about habits and had this to say

> "Religious habits should be "simple and modest, at once poor and becoming. They should meet the requirements of health and be suited to the circumstances of time and place as well as to the services required by those who wear them."
> (Quoted in Reidy, 1968)

This has been very differently interpreted. The Local Superior of the Congregation that I studied said that it was middle-aged Sisters often who looked for change, and that there was a marked resistance amongst their newest and youngest Sisters who were returning to black stockings and cinctures (traditional knotted cord belts). In America, traditional habits have often been seen as cultural barriers, symbolizing a remoteness from everyday life, which is unacceptable in modern theology. The traditional habit is linked with the traditional stereotype of the nun.

It is this remark which highlights an important point. The Congregation I visited <u>was</u> very traditional in some respects, yet able at the same time to adapt their work to considerable change.

The disadvantages of habits can be seen in the following remarks taken from 'Nuns in Ordinary Clothes' -

> "Sister, why must you shout at me that you are a sacred person? It takes me so long to get through to you." (Reidy, 1968, 53)

> "When I objected to one priest that the traditional habit makes people think of God, he answered 'Sister, when people look at the habit they think of the habit'".
> (Reidy, 1968, 57)

Whether people argue for or against the habit, there is one thing which unites them - that clothes bear a message, they are significant.

It has already been suggested that the habit performed the social and psychological functions of a uniform. It clearly identified its wearers from others, and it brought with it, in this instance, a certain respect. This respect did not seem confined to

Catholics alone either.

However, often one of the functions of uniform is to signify 'authority', and paradoxically it was the organisation not wearing the habit (i.e., the Social Services) that was most linked to authority. The Sisters repeatedly mentioned that they were seen as the antithesis of authority.

One Sister was called off the street by a client who sought her help but rejected her offer to bring any 'Official' to help.

> "Sister don't bring anyone inside my door. And I said 'Why? I'm inside your door' and she said 'I don't want any of this officialdom, I don't want any of that coming in with books and writing reams'. You know, she said this to me 'I want' she said 'somebody that I can have a heart to heart with.' 'Well', I said 'we'll have to get someone, I think, more professional than me'. She said, 'I don't want professionaldom. I want somebody,' she said, 'who will give me a few words about God, and that's all I want'."

For the Salvation Army too, uniform was valued.

A former General, Frederick Coutts wrote in his autobiography 'No Continuing City'

> "Of course the uniform is one of the Army's great assets. Without a word it declares that the wearer is at the service of anyone in need, whatever that need may be. For my own part, I can rarely walk down Ludgate Hill or along Cheapside without being stopped by some enquirer. After if it be said that most of these are foreigners, wanting to find their way around, I shall agree. Even 'foreigners' know what the Army uniform stands for. At least it does not represent an insular Anglo-Saxon institution."
> (Coutts, 1976, 78)

He later quoted Bishop Oxnam at the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches as referring to 'the simple, significant uniform of the Salvationist'.

Familiar words, are they not? Clothes are significant, they ensure world wide recognition, proclaiming dedicated service to God.

There are distinctions though. The uniform of the Salvation Army Officer could be set aside during 'off duty' periods, and for example the Manager's wife while working in the Family Centre was not wearing a uniform. He also referred to his experiences in Dublin where they were acknowledged <u>in or out</u> of their uniform in the street.

The uniform conveyed a message to outsiders and clients, it also had internal significance within the sect. The Manager wrote in his 'diary' about wearing 'Soldier' hats as opposed to officer's ones and explained why -

> "At the Salvation Army Temple for morning service. (For these occasions we wear our "Soldier" hats as we are Ministers of The Salvation Army with our appointment in the hostel but when we go to the Temple on Sunday we go as members of the congregation to worship with fellow Salvationists. I suppose that the nearest illustration would be an Anglican or Methodist Minister who works in teaching, for example, and goes to church on Sunday. He's still a "reverend" but he's not <u>the</u> Reverend at the Church)."

So differences with both the uniform and the habit (for example different coloured veils for Novices) signified the status or position of its wearer within their own groups.

I would seem therefore that both groups held a very positive view towards the value of the particular clothes they wore, indeed for the Sisters the habit was itself 'blessed' and treated with respect. (In some communities the very donning of the habit each day, is a ritual which involves the reciting of prayers as each garment is put on in order.) There was little doubt that their clothes 'communicated' with the people with whom they dealt, but did it put their secular counterparts in the Social Services and the Reception Centre at a disadvantage?

<u>The Generic Role</u>

With the Seebohm re-organisation came the advent of the generic role, and this has become enshrined within the organisational division of labour of Social Services Departments.

Writing in 1965 (pre-Seebohm) Halmos had this to say

> "But however confused the public image of the social worker, the definition of his functions continues to increase in clarity and sharpness and the generic elements of these functions continue to gain precedence over his specialist duties and skills."
>
> (Halmos, 1965, 42)

The trend was already there.

But was this what Seebohm intended? The Report has been interpreted as wholeheartedly supporting the idea of the generic social worker. To me, Seebohm seemed indeed to be advocating that clients should have only one social worker, and that workers should be expected to undertake a wider range of duties than previously - under the separate departments. However, while advocating the logic of generic training he also acknowledged the need for specialisation within this all-embracing Department that was to be created. Even basic grade field-workers were to be encouraged to develop specialist interests, and at Area and Headquarters level there were to be specialist consultants.

Seebohm appeared to have been stressing that there should be one door through which a client could come - not a multitude as before- I would argue that he did not expect that every social worker who opened that door should be able to deal with every problem. Surely there is room, as well as necessity, for a degree of specialisation within each team - given the now wide range of expectations made of Social Services staff.

Confusion over the role of the generic social worker has reigned and has been open to widely varying interpretations by both departments and field-work staff. As Baker (1977) points out the responsibility for specialist work is no longer officially designated to individual social workers but is decided by informal allocation at area and district team level.

What does 'generic' mean? Baker suggests

> "The term generic in social work would appear to mean all things to all people. At the theoretical level the concept implies a core of knowledge base in the principles and methods of the whole 'genus' of social work practice".
>
> (Baker, 1977, 12)

Alan Tredinnick has this to say of the recent re-roganisation

> "The unfortunate social worker was invited to participate in the ultimate nonsense. The generic department became in fact, a department of senior specialists, leaving the community social workers, who have to take the most acute decisions, as the ones most required in the department to generalise their skills and knowledge."
>
> (Tredinnick, 1977, 1246)

Tredinnick also argues that those with disabilities would prefer to be more geographically isolated from specialist staff, rather than have

> "generalists without a clue about their disability on their doorstep"
> (Tredinnick, 1977, 1247)

Furthermore, he sees the disintegration of any sense of national framework for client groups - he examples the family with a schizophrenic son who can no longer move with the assurance that the mental health specialist who has been seeing him will be replaced with a similar service elsewhere. The blame he places firmly on the structure -

> "....we must acknowledge that the ambitions of Seebohm to provide a unified family service have been made less attainable by the very structures it engendered."
> (Tredinnick, 1977, 1247)

It would seem that there has been a wrong interpretation in practice of what was put forward in the ideology or policy of Seebohm's Report (1968) and the subsequent Act. What has distorted the ideology in practice seems to have been the very structures set up to promote those new philosophies. Seebohm talked of generic training not generic social workers.

This confusion inevitably extends to those non-qualified workers with which I was concerned. In practice the Welfare Assistant specialised taking nearly all the elderly referrals - her job description was much broader - expecting her to do escort work, work with truants &c. The Neighbourhood Aides were more truly generic, but obviously over a far more limited range of possibilities than the qualified social worker.

What stands out though is that genericism or the concept of the generic social worker as enshrined within the ideology is far from being practised as envisaged within individual Deparmental Offices. This works I feel to the detriment of clients - neither can they be assured of a nationwide specialist service, nor of a competent generic one. Some Departments are obviously providing an excellent service but this unfortunately varies a great deal.

This problem of the generic role was not specific to the Social Services either. The Sisters too were

capable of performing a generic role, but in reality this became distorted and in fact their clients were mainly the elderly. The extent of this distortion was tempered by a wider range of involvement in social visiting to families of all ages, but the problem did exist.

The difference again lay in the way in which the workers dealt with the problem. The Sisters accepted whatever came their way and set about visiting or nursing the client, in whatever category that client happened to fall.

There was far more tension noticeable in respect of this problem when it came to the Welfare Assistant, who I felt had expected and would have enjoyed a little more variety in her work.

In both groups then, the reality of situation - that there were a large group of elderly who required help - distorted the ideology that the workers were there to provide for a far wider category of client.

Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter I pointed out that specific theories would be examined in an attempt to make sense of the empirical data. Methodologically (see Ch.2. p. 2.9), I was however prepared to find that these were not relevant.

What did happen in fact? The first theory to which I turned was that related to the distinction between church and sect, and more specifically to the similarities of religious order and sect. While finding that my own data substantiated what Hill had suggested, it did not advance my understanding of the observable differences between the two religious groups. However, looking next at the concept of vocation, I found that here was an ideology which did inform the practice of the religiously based workers and could serve to distinguish the groups one from another. These examples, then, serve to demonstrate the necessity for a methodological stance such as I adopted. Theories that superficially appear relevant are only useful if they

advance understanding of what has been observed empirically. If the researcher therefore choses to turn to existing theory it must be with an open mind which is prepared to accept or reject on the basis of tested 'fit' to his own data.

Furthermore, the relationship between ideology and practice is far more complex than many would anticipate. One cannot simply 'read off' a relationship between them, by referring to ideological statements alone. It is necessary to look at little pieces of that ideology, hence the attention paid to attitudes to the family, to death and dying, and to the importance of external symbols. These were what informed practice, but they would not have been detected very readily by reading formal ideological statements. As I suggested earlier, theory is often distorted by structural considerations, economic restraints, power and authority relationships and the very nature of the theory itself, as we saw in considering the generic role. So one must beware of over-simplifying relationships between theory and practice - not least because for many the relationship is not part of any conscious process.

The implicit hypothesis contained within the selection of groups that religious organisations might or would be intrinsically different from secular ones is thus shown to be too simplistic an explanation. You have to look in much more detail at specific pieces of ideology, however fragmented, in order to understand how this relates to and informs practice.

S E C T I O N C.

Introduction to Section C

As has been already indicated, Section C presents the empirical data as related to three central themes: Chapter Five - Perceptions of Work, Chapter Six - Social Service Work and Client Groups and Chapter Seven - Community and Bureaucracy as Organisational Forms. Detailed consideration of this data is now possible given the fact that Section B provided the historical antecedents and raised the ideological issues which are important to the understanding of the four institutions and their services.

Chapter Five is concerned with perceptions of work and focusses attention on those studied as"workers". The centrality of work as a category of analysis only emerged after the first stage of empirical work had been completed. In attempting to make sense of the experience of those providing social work services for clients, it was clear that their perception of work and experience of work was of crucial significance. Work then constructs the relationship between forms of practice and organisations. It becomes central to the whole thesis, and is thus the most lengthy of all the chapters, dealing with a considerable range of empirical material. Having described the work groups, the relationship with the working environment is examined in the light of two major respects - work factors and orientation. Work factors were taken to revolve around the three sets of relationships in which the worker is involved -worker to colleague, worker to organisation and hierarchy, and worker to client. Orientation can then be monitored through the relationship of worker to researcher and what workers said about their work. From this emerged the focus for the second half of the chapter - a section I have entitled 'Worrying about the Job'. Work anxiety, although differentially experienced, was of major significance.

Chapter Six concentrates on the clients' experiences of the four institutions from which they sought help. This information was not gained by direct interview but from observation and inference from what workers said.

These subjective experiences are examined under such factors as organisation, motivation, relationship and emotional/spiritual content of the service. This chapter is also concerned to contrast secular and religious provision in these respects.

The final chapter within this section turns to the organisational form within which the service is provided, for like work, this had clearly emerged during the research as a fundamental issue. The subjective experience of workers and clients has been explored earlier in the section, and now the actual organisational form is scrutinized. Community, as measured in terms of the members' sense of solidarity and significance, is contrasted with bureaucracy. The four groups are considered with reference to these two organisational forms, and two concrete examples of the effects of organisation are examined in a section on Power and Authority and another on the Use of Volunteers. The chapter ends with an analysis of the implications of community for those who 'care', and the conclusion that community provides a difficult but very favourable setting for social work.

CHAPTER FIVE : PERCEPTIONS OF WORK

"Few things exert a greater influence upon people's lives than the work they do".
(Beynon and Blackburn, 1972, 1)

I would like to explore the variations in work experience of the four groups i.e., - non-qualified staff within a Social Services Department, a group of female Roman Catholic Sisters, a Salvation Army Hostel for the single homeless and a Government Reception Centre - and draw attention to possible explanations of why these variations occur. In particular, I am interested in the experience of work anxiety within the first two groups, which was lacking in the second two.

At first glance it may appear strange that a chapter on work appears as a central empirical chapter in a thesis on social work. However, it will be remembered that I was led into this area by my data (see Chapter One for an explanation of the methodology of grounded theory which I was adopting). Work constructs the relationship between the forms of practice and the organisations that I was observing. Work provided the context in which the experience of 'doing social work' took place. Thus, it became central to my analysis of the empirical material and consequently is the most lengthy of the chapters.

Following Beynon's and Blackburn's thesis that variations in the experience of work stem from two inter-related influences, these will form the basis for analysis. The two influences are:-

1. "the work group and the specific conditions relating to the worker's particular job"
2. "the values and expectations which each worker brings to the work situation."

(Beynon and Blackburn, 1972,1)

The Work Group

Taking the Social Services group first, four non-qualified staff were observed and interviewed over a period of several months. Two were Neighbourhood Aids (one male and one female), one a Welfare Assistant and the fourth was a Voluntary Help Organiser. Although referred to as staff, one basic distinction served to separate the

Neighbourhood Aids from the two other employees - they were paid weekly on submission of a time sheet along with the Home Helps. As such it could be argued that within the non-qualified staff there was already a split between staff and workers, but it is not proposed to push this distinction further other than acknowledging it.

These jobs were at the bottom end of a hierarchically structured Local Authority Department scale and while being part of a statutory service, the particular posts carried no (or very little) statutory responsibility. In many ways they represented a form of non-professional worker within a professional setting.

The Religious Community, however, formed a very different form of work group. Here a small Branch House of Sisters working with families in their own homes, providing both social work and nursing services, was studied. The group comprised a newly appointed Superior and seven Sisters (to be reduced to five during the study). Although most of these were professionally qualified as nurses, only one (the Superior) had any social work qualification. They stressed too the voluntary nature of their work and can therefore be thought of as non-professionals (as regards social work) working in a voluntary organisation, free of statutory obligations.

Although hierarchical in structure, the aspect of community and all that this entails was of greater significance in considering work experience. However, the over-riding characteristic of this group was its religious nature in contrast to the secular orientation of the Local Authority organisation.

The Salvation Army Hostel studied provided accommodation for up to 144 single homeless men and was run by a Manager and his wife, and the Assistant Manager and his wife - all Salvation Army Officers.It was situated in new buildings (a year old) which had replaced two older hostels in the vicinity. As is the practice in other hostels, "trustees" were used as staff for the actual running of the place. There were 15 here, and they were given the priviledge of private rooms, instead of the more normal dormitory accommodation with 8 beds to a room. One man was employed for Reception Work and

five women came in to clean the hostel. The Manager and his Assistant, both Captains, seemed to work alternately.

The Government Reception Centre clearly formed part of the state bureaucracy, a third of the staff being civil servants. The Manager was assisted by three Executive Officers responsible for the Reception Centre side, Finance and the Re-Establishment side respectively. Each had their own Clerical Officer, who in the case of Finance was the Cashier. Two part-time typists were shared between these staff. Besides these civil service employees, ten Grade II Assistants were recruited from the Labour Exchange to work directly with the men. This too was situated in new buildings - 5 years old - with a capacity for 96, though it was not designed to be full. The two functions were a Reception Centre specifically set up to help people of an unsettled way of life become more settled - not just there for accommodation, and a Day Re-Establishment Centre which took local men in an attempt to establish a work pattern again after long periods of unemployment.

Having set the scene, I now propose to go on to examine the different work factors in more depth by referring to three significant sets of relationships:- worker to colleague; worker to organisation and hierarchy; and worker to client. These represent three different power relationships - lateral, subordinate and super-ordinate. The relationship of the workers to the researcher and their own expressed perceptions of their work, then provides material related to orientation.

It is perhaps appropriate at this stage to clarify what is meant by the terms 'work factors' and 'orientation'. They are taken to refer to the two influences cited by Beynon earlier, i.e., specific conditions relating to a particular job and the work group; and the values and expectations brought by the worker to his work situation. Beynon and Blackburn issue a caveat, however,

> "The way in which work is experienced depends neither on work factors nor orientation alone, but on the interaction of the two. Furthermore, an orientation to work should not be thought of as arising outside and brought into the work situation but as something which derives from the individuals's total experience."
>
> (Beynon and Blackburn, 1972, 4)

Work Factors

(a) Worker to Colleague Relationships

Two aspects of this relationship emerge from the data - the general atmosphere created by the interaction of worker and colleague, and the more specific exchanges relating to work itself.

Within the Social Services there was a warm and friendly atmosphere amongst the team members, facilitated by the fact that they were a de-centralised team with their own self-contained offices. As one would expect, the depth of personal relationships varied, but there was an overall interest taken in the personal welfare of colleagues. This can be instanced in the rather motherly interest taken in the Neighbourhood Aids by the Home Help Organiser and the Welfare Assistant.

> "Just prior to Y. (N.A) going home he chatted to B (Home Help Clerk) and D(Home Help Organiser) - they seem very fond of him and there was quite a lot of good natured teasing going on."

> "X(N.A) was off sick, W (W.A) "having sent her home" yesterday because she was not well."

One way in which worker/worker relationships were developed was through deliberately socialising together. Opportunities had to be made for this, but given the number of social events arranged during the period of observation, it would seem to have been accorded a high priority by the team. Special celebrations were organised to mark the leaving of certain team members, ranging from a lunch time gathering at a wine bar, a private party at home to an Indian meal imported into the office. On all occasions I was included. On a more regular basis, Friday lunch time seemed to be earmarked for socialising, although at other times people did congregate in the staff room to eat- very much a floating population though. It was at these times that I had the best opportunity to see other team members interacting.

> "There was much more socialising in the office this lunchtime - it seems that traditionally people seem to gather - C.sometimes cooks Indian food or they have fish and chips."

It was within this context therefore that work took place. People appeared able to approach others for advice, information &c., on a very informal basis, and this

extended to the relationship with the District Manager. This point will be explored more fully within the next section.

With regard to work, cases were allocated - normally passing through the channel of the Intake Team - and were then regarded as the responsibility of the individual worker. The Intake Team consisted of a Senior Caseworker, a basic grade social worker and the Welfare Assistant. The latter took, almost automatically, all elderly cases and so was relatively unaffected by the idea of work being imposed. For the N.A's, the work was inevitably imposed. However, the presence of a Senior Caseworker on the team did not introduce the hierarchical element that might have been expected - partly due to the personality of the worker and partly due to the worker relationships within the office. Thus little formal sharing of cases was evident, with perhaps the exception of the Neighbourhood Aids, who as well as having a group of cases which they were in contact with regularly, did carry out specific tasks for other workers.

Between certain workers there was an element of status re-inforcement in the way in which pressure of work was stressed - proof that you had a responsible position and were working hard. A short interaction between the W.A. and the female N.A. serves to demonstrate this:-

> "Small interaction with W(W.A) about she wished (i.e., N.A) she could have notes left to her as it would make her feel important. W.made rather a show that she would willingly give her her notes and in fact physically passed her the bundle. W.referred to the piles of notes on return from leave - and seemed to be over emphasising her workload and consequently importance, although I don't think she was intentionally trying to rub the N.A's nose in it".

The need for such re-inforcement will be discussed elsewhere.

Another interesting dimension of the worker-colleague relationship is seen in the supervisory role assumed by the W.A. for the female N.A. As this was an unofficial role it is more appropriately discussed here rather than in connection with the workers' relationship to the hierarchy.

"X arrived having been to collect pension for vol/client about whom both she and W. were concerned. X. had tried to ring W. last night after seeing this person yesterday afternoon - but the message hadn't quite got through. W.said she would visit this afternoon but encouraged X. on a subsequent visit this morning to force the issue over contacting a doctor - she would assess the situation."

T.N. "This interaction seemed to display a fairly typical relationship between the W.A. and the N.A. - the latter seems threatened by responsibility if things are not well with a client (this is after all understandable) and the W.A. is perhaps too ready to encourage dependency on herself instead of providing N.A. with support. A fine balance of course is necessary."

Overall the work within Social Services may be characterised as individually orientated, perhaps in itself reflecting the individual pathology model so often adopted by traditional social work agencies.

Looking now at the Sisters, here a very different relationship obtained. For the most part this stemmed from the fact that not only did they work together, but they also shared a communal life style. For most of us, at the end of the day, we can escape from our work colleagues and to some extent distance ourselves from work itself. Thus this could be seen by many as a disadvantage. However, the positive benefits that accrued, not only to the Community's members but also to the clients, were readily apparent. The general atmosphere was one of mutual support.

Like the other group, there was a warmth and friendliness, heightened by the fact that their 'work place' was also their home. There was a duty to welcome visitors, but this did not at all detract from the spontaneous friendliness that was displayed. This point will be taken up later in relation to their relationship to the researcher.

There was a ready made opportunity for socialising together, for example over meals, that is so obvious as to hardly need articulating. This opportunity was well utilised, details of cases being exchanged over lunch together with a general sharing of information.

"Lunch was the usually chatty affair - again lengthy anecdotes from Sr C. general interchange of news, how various patients were and the latest troubles of one well-known patient."

T.N. Much informal sharing of information seems to go on over meals."

This sharing of cases was a central feature of their whole style:-

> "... it seems that at various times most sisters will visit the same client, even though one particular Sister may know the family best and all will have some knowledge of the case.
> T.N. This sharing indicates a lack of possessiveness about cases in one way."

This point was later articulated more fully by one of the Sisters in an interview where she explained that whereas one Sister would be responsible for a particular client, they went as representatives of the Community and not as individuals. As such it was therefore much easier for them to be replaced by another Sister when the need arose, perhaps because of pressure of night duty or something else.

> "We don't go out individually (No.) We go individually to a person certainly, but we go out in the name of the community, and we are designated...we are sent by the Church in that name. We aren't sent as Sr So and So, or Sr... We are sent in the name of the Church and in the name of the community to help a person in need (uhuh) let that be whoever they are."

Moving the discussion to the question of interchange:-

> I. "So you really are saying that you have, you have your own patients in the sense....(overriding me)
> Sr.A. Yes, but we can change around (....) I certainly would be ready to change my patients (Yes). You know you should have patients but not become attached to them. That doesn't mean you shouldn't do the ultimate...you know, as much as you possibly can for the person while she's in your charge, and then when you give it over to somebody else you're expecting them to do the same, you know. But I wouldn't hesitate to ,if I was told tomorrow that I had to change our district, it wouldn't cost me a thought."

One can therefore describe the Sisters as operating collectively rather than individually, and this enables them in some ways to be more available and accessible to clients. Any Sister can be contacted, regardless of whose particular patient it is, in a way that is not so possible within Social Services. Again this point emerges with a discussion of organisation. Indeed it is a somewhat forced distinction to try and separate the three sets of relationships, but one which hopefully aids analysis and understanding.

Before moving on to the question of relationships within the organisation and hierarchical structure, mention should be made of the concept of 'attentiveness'. This concept is used by Abrams & McCullough in a discussion of marriage within their book Communes, Sociology and Society but seems to be equally applicable to the character of the relationships observed between Sisters in the Community.

> "...attentiveness, the extent to which partners are alert to and generous towards each other's expectations. The quality of attentiveness within a relationship plainly is accessible to observation, and to the extent that the actors in question express the value of the relationship in terms of an ideology of mutual involvement, such observation would be a meaningful and adequate way of talking about the success or failure of the relationship."
> (Abrams & McCullough, 1976, 158).

Whereas we are not here concerned with the success or failure of their relationships, a certain ideology is observable.

Work is merged into other parts of life to a greater extent than within the Local Authority, although it should be stated that a distinction is drawn for practical purposes between work; rest; and prayer and community exercises, in accordance with the Rule laid down by their Founder. It was envisaged that the day be divided into three equal parts. However, it must be extremely difficult to control the amount of work to enable this strict division to be maintained, and due to lack of complete observation (i.e., after the normal working day) no data was gathered in regard to this. One Sister did stress however in response to a question about combining the religious life and work as a nurse/social worker that the question was one of priorities - "Why am I here?" There had to be a balance between the two parts if you were to lead the Religious Life with any meaning and not let your work suffer.

What emerges here is the very different relationship between life and work, and work and life of the two groups. Family commitments and home responsibilities affect considerably a worker's relationship to his job.
The Sisters could offer a distinctive service because of this complete integration of life and work. One Sister explained this distinctiveness as possible

"If they are living their life of dedicated religious (uhm), when they are completely given for that, whereas secular agencies, secular people have that part of their life only - their job - they have their home to keep after. So, <u>you can't do two jobs</u> (uhm) really (Yes)...You can't....I mean its very difficult, some do but it's very difficult. The mother, for instance, who's...who is either a district nurse, Health Visitor, Ward Sister whatever, if she has a job outside she has her home to come home to, her own family, her husband and family, and something is bound to suffer because you can't....personally I don't think so (yes). We are ready day or night (....)"

Although the members of the Religious Community shared the same sex as three of the Social Service employees studied - they did <u>not</u> share the same concerns. They did not experience pressure from having to care for babies, teenagers, boyfriends and husbands as well as work. It could be argued that the Sisters' relationship with God demanded the same attention - but this is of a different degree I feel. Housework, often has to be fitted into 'leisure', for the working "wife" - the Sisters had a numerical advantage when it came to sharing household chores.

Money, too, holds a very different meaning for both groups - for those in Social Services money has to be earned to support oneself and dependents. The Sisters do not have that pressure, they do not work to earn money but to provide a service to those in need. This point will be raised again when considering the aspect of voluntary status.

While Beynon and Blackburn acknowledge the significance of the wider social structure on the experience of work structure (quoted p.12),this does not seem to go far enough. The influences they mention do not sufficiently take account of the intrinsic difference in how work and life are related. The term 'vocation' introduces a dimension over and above those pointed to by Beynon and Blackburn, and although to some extent it can be subsumed under the title of orientation, this is not satisfactory.

Looking now at the second pair of institutions, data related to worker/colleague relationships is necessarily far less, for the focus within these two groups was on the Manager of each institution rather than the staff in general. Nevertheless certain points about these

relationships can still be made. It should also be remembered that they were residential institutions.

It is the policy of the Salvation Army to appoint couples to work in their hostels, and as a Salvation Army Officer is only permitted to marry another Officer then of necessity both are Officers. Worker to colleague in some instances then involves the relationship of husband to wife. The wife takes the rank of her husband. From the Diary kept by the Manager, I discovered that the wives took their turn in leading morning prayers at the Hostel. They were also involved in the Salvage operation of the Family Service Unit. However, it was the two captains who alternately managed the Hostel itself.

> "Men coming into the hostel go to the booking office and are then referred to whichever Captain is on duty. They are interviewed in a room off the hall marked 'Welfare Officer'... ...Theoretically then between them the two Captains know every man in the hostel personally and have hopefully formed a point of contact for the man who wishes help in this way."

After morning prayers it seemed the custom for the officers and their wives to congregate for coffee and biscuits, during which some mention of work was made.

> "We then adjourned downstairs and congregated in a small lounge where coffee and biscuits had been brought in - we were joined by Captain and Mrs. Q.(the latter was apparently taking Lucy out for the morning), the older officer who I was introduced to as Brigadier H. 'our regional manager' in lay terms, Captain and Mrs P. (the Manager) and myself. There was some discussion about staff - a bloke who worked in the kitchen and was unhappy working with one of the other men and was threatening to leave - but there was not much conversation."

I did not form the impression though that much informal socialising went on within the hostel between the two Captain's - perhaps this was due in large part to the fact that each had his own family concerns to occupy him when he was not actually on duty.

I also detected a somewhat patronising attitude of the Manager's wife towards the other Captain -

> "She talked openly to me about the fact that Captain Q. could cope with a hostel of his own - in a somewhat patronising way I felt."

But I was unable to obtain much information about their relationship, one with the other, due to the more limited

focus of the study at the hostel.

At the Reception Centre two fairly significant points were noticed in the worker to colleague relationship in particular. Firstly, despite or may be because of the bureaucratic structure the staff seemed to choose informal communication about the men rather than the established formal channels.

> "CO's and EO's talk to assistants about men - there is a formal means of doing this but it doesn't work and because the informal mechanism works he doesn't insist. The Centre is different to most because there is not so much division between the various levels because they function from the same office. There is therefore a 'load of informal discussion' - a fair bit of interchange. Meetings are difficult because of shifts."

This highlights at the same time the second significant point - that of less differentiation between grades. Although the Manager attributed part of the reason to shared office accommodation and a shift system, I felt that there was another reason over and above the structural one. It had to do with the style of leadership of the Manager, his own philosophy and personality. This particular Manager seemed to allow his staff to get on with their work with the minimum amount of interference.

> "He is deliberately involved with the men very little - he doesn't think the men will benefit from seeing him rather than one of his officers whose job it is - although he did stress that he is available as a point of appeal."

However, this freedom in itself can cause problems. Whilst discussing relationships with the Reception Centre with workers from another voluntary agency nearby, I detected that other senior staff at the Centre were not implementing the philosophy I had heard propounded by the Manager.

> "He berated the Reception Centre however - he said they were constantly getting guys coming here that had been refused entry - he often sent them back armed with the information that at least for the first night they had a legal right to get in. The bug bear in the institution was named as Mr.R. regarded by the men as 'a right bastard'. Referrals and telephone conversations got nowhere with him so that now he didn't bother trying. I tried to say that T - as Manager - was propounding very different views, in direct contradiction to the attitude of R. He had wanted more referrals - but this was obviously not getting through to them."

I will return to this point again in the context of the organisational relationships at work.

(b) Worker to Organisation and Hierarchy

Each set of workers inevitably experienced different work structures, and the degree to which that structure helped or hindered their workwas significant. As has just been stressed, work cannot be totally isolated from the whole of life, and Beynon and Blackburn are at pains to point out that

> "...experience within the social structure of the work situation must be related to the individual's position within the social structure of the wider society."
>
> (Beynon and Blackburn, 1972, 145)

Those studied within the Local Authority were differentially placed with regard to social characteristics, the two Neighbourhood Aids were younger and free of responsibility, while the VHO and WA had families for whom they were economically responsible (placing them in a very different relationship to work). As a group they were also comparatively young compared with the average age of the Sisters. At work, as has been mentioned already, they occupied non-qualified posts at the bottom of a hierarchically structured organisation. How did they relate to this organisation?

Relationships with the District Manager or Senior (the lowest tier of management with which they were regularly in contact) were both friendly and informal. This informality was marked and affected the style of supervision given - people generally asked for help rather than having it imposed upon them on any regular basis. For example, the Welfare Assistant -

> "She also used to have supervision once a week with D - but now 'I don't have time for that'. How much this is in fact the case - or whether the disinclination lies more on the side of D. Apparently a Senior is supposed to accompany W (W.A) to Case Conferences with regard to admissions to elderly people's homes on a permanent basis. Quite often she goes on her own, and even if he does go, he says very little apparently."

The District Manager was included in any social event, and little, if any, status demarcation was noticeable.

In his absence the Area Officer was supposed to be available if needed, but this was a somewhat tenuous arrangement, and one which did not impinge very much on those studied. In fact the further up the management hierarchy you went, the more remote these figures were to those at the bottom of the ladder.

A 'them' and 'us' situation was very much apparent - and the physical distance between the District Office and the central organisation, while in one way welcomed, did not improve the situation. The "bosses" were seen by the female N.A. to be unclear about what she was supposed to be doing, and one sensed a considerable and almost unbridgeable distance between the top and bottom of the ladder. The "bosses" made decisions affecting your livelihood, but you were powerless to do anything. A stark example is provided in the process of decision making with regard to the continuation of the Neighbourhood Aid Scheme.

> "(The W.A) mentioned that there had been a memo round last week stating that the N.A's were to be kept on (X. on the strength of this had cancelled another job she had lined up with Social Security)...However they have now been told that the memo had gone out wrongly and so no-one knows what is happening."

> "X. came in and referred to the fact that they had heard that the original neighbourhood aid scheme was funded until 31st July and a decision about its continuing was to be made at a meeting today. She is still wondering whether she ought to get D (the Senior) to write to DHSS to get her job back for her. Y.is not so bothered as he would only have to find a temporary job for August and September."

Whereas X. was trying to save money to travel, Y. was filling in time before going to College, they therefore related very differently to the same structural difficulties.

> "I checked with X. what had happened to the N.A. scheme - she said the decision had been postponed until this coming Friday - tomorrow in fact. She is rather fed up with the way they are being treated - she feels she can't do anything about the DHSS job until she knows what Social Services is doing."

> "...I ascertained that the N.A. scheme has apparently been extended for 6 months. However they have not personally received a letter about this - they heard via the grapevine it appears on Monday afternoon after the Friday meeting. X.seemed to thinkthat this would be confirmed by letter later - I overheard her raising this with D over lunch and he seemed to think this was unlikely."

This raises the whole issue of communication. The style and content of communication within an organisation will very much colour the experience of the worker. Communication by and large was poor and inadequate - not only exampled by the process outlined above- but with a considerable reliance being placed on information filtering down. For example, with regard to permission for the research to be carried out, the relevant information never reached the District Manager, although ultimate responsibility was passed on to him. The onus was on the worker to find out what he should know - the chief means of collating memos and other material being an office folder which circulated round the team.

The Welfare Assistant perceived the organisation as making too many demands on her and cited the way in which her job description had altered at least 6 or 7 times during her time within the Department, increasing the range of work expected, but without any accompanying salary increase. This suggestion, never very explicit, of deviousness on the part of management was echoed in the complaints made by the VHO over the manipulation by Councillors of those in Social Services concerning her post. All these are examples of the result of political pressure at the time, and a factor of enormous significance when examining the workers' perception of their jobs.

Rule breaking, to a degree, was built into the system. Official job demarcation lines were flouted, being redefined on the basis of a personal definition of competence. For example, the N.A. implied that dealing with the elderly was within her competence and required no training.

> "Earlier in the day I'd taken the opportunity to sound her out about working with the elderly. I asked if she'd been told to expect such a high proportion. She said that the elderly had been one category mentioned. However she was quite happy with things as they were. She said that she was not trained to deal with other types of clients and instanced marital work - she seemed happy to accept this. She appears to have very little to do with problem families or children and did not mention either category as one she would like or not like to work with."

In interview at a later stage she referred to thisagain - she had been talking about the range of tasks she undertook, e.g., visiting the elderly and went on to say:-

> "....And with families its very much more difficult, you do need to know all the professional ways of talking to them and uh, adoptions and things like that - very difficult .....I think."

Acceptability of work, in some way, also seemed to depend upon the source rather than the type of task. This is highlighted by one of the Neighbourhood Aids complaining about tasks allocated to her by the VHO, on the basis of who allocated rather than what was allocated.

> "Interesting questions of demarcation job wise between X and VHO - X. seemed to feel that VHO should be the one to check up on people to see if they wanted a visit, drive in a car etc."

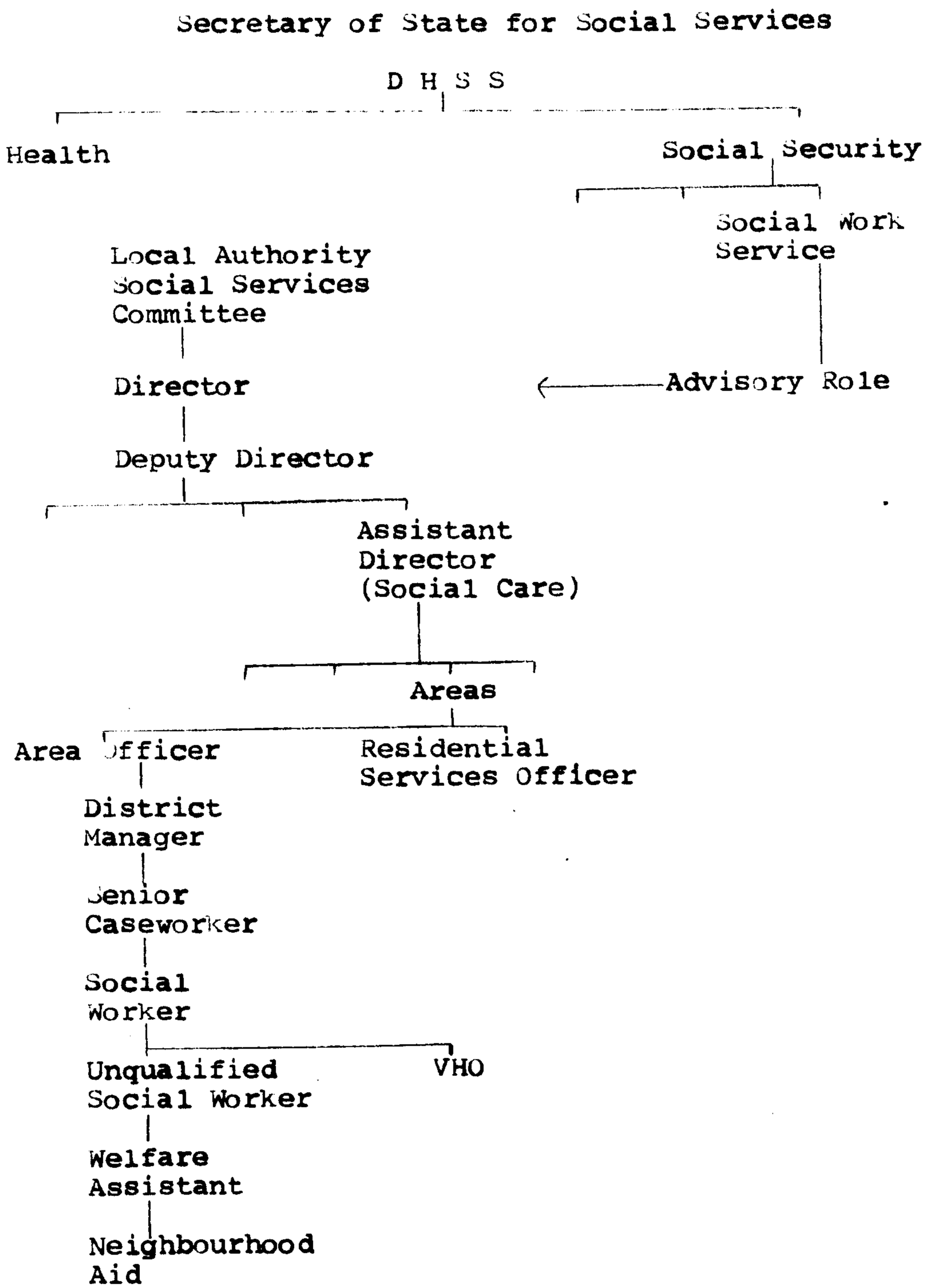
Once then authority had been vested in certain people by a worker, then any attempt to change this was resisted.

A further aspect of how the worker related to the organisation and the hierarchy is presented in the way in which ideology was revealed through the very administration/organisation. In accepting that particular form of organisation, they implicitly supported the ideology of the hierarchy. For example, keeping individual records of cases re-inforced and promoted the belief in an individual pathology model. Impinging even more on the W.A., the fact that elderly were allocated to the Welfare Assistant, an unqualified person, displayed (a) the low priority assigned to such cases and (b) the low status of the Welfare Assistant.

> "We (i.e., W.A. and researcher) discussed the devaluation of the elderly, this fitted in with the philosophy of only welfare assistants - i.e., the untrained and unqualified were left to deal with this low priority category of the elderly, together with the handicapped."

Mick Baker suggests also that

> "In practice the division of labour within a modern Social Services team rests largely on the ad hoc development of special interests on the part of its members, with legislative and departmental priorities maintaining a bias in favour of certain population groups."
>
> (Baker, 1977, 57)



(i) HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF LOCAL AUTHORITY SOCIAL SERVICES

Working at the Reception Centre was a clear example of operating as part of a vast state bureaucracy. Always in the background was the constraints of civil service accountability, but in spite of this there still existed an element of informality in worker/hierarchy relationships. In line with such accountability - record keeping was prominent, including annual civil service staff reports, which were completed by the E.O. (Reception Centre).

The Manager described his own position vis a vis the organisation quite succinctly.

> "I then raised the issue of the diary - he pointed out that he was not really comparable to the manager of the SA Hostel - this was more the EO. He spends his time being a civil servant. The manager's role is to establish the climate and style of work. Policy is determined by Government with little room for change. He is there to oil the wheels and have oversight of everything. Really it runs as 3 self-contained units - he is removed from the men."

The civil service is touchy about accountability and devises all sorts of red tape to counteract potential problems and then suffers from this red tape, I gathered.

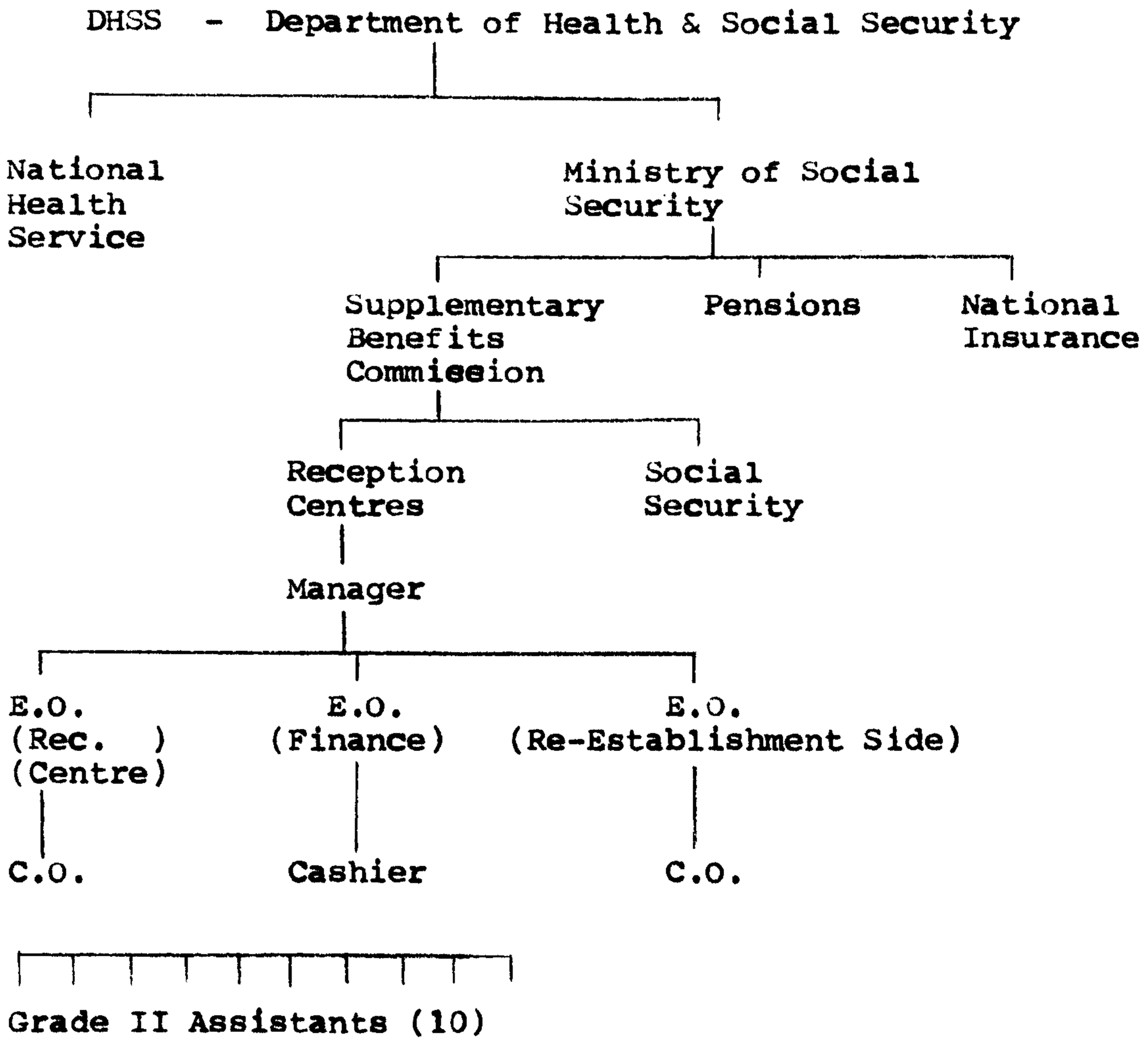
The Reception Centre is part of the Supplementary Benefit Commission and is thus one small cog in a very large wheel. I received the impression that staff saw their work as a job - a means of earning a living - and very little else. They ran the institution along well-defined lines which did little to encourage or permit innovatory thinking let alone action.

Richard Crossman in his Diaries of a Cabinet Minister (Vol.III) refers somewhat cynically to the overall attitude of the DHSS to training in this area of Social Security

> "Both (i.e., Social Security Officers) were convinced that training is fatal. It doesn't matter what training you've got - sociology or social welfare - it makes you take too long over your job. For them job training meaning knowing how to ask the right questions quickly, how to make a quick judgment on whether someone is a scrounger or not and then giving the right decision on entitlement. They said you don't want a university education for this, it's a positive hindrance. A university graduate couldn't do the job quickly and reliably in a business-like way."
>
> (Crossman, 1977, 148)

These reflections about training were mirrored to some extent by what one of the Neighbourhood Aids told me of her impressions of training for workers within Social Security Offices.

> "....Social Security are far more hostile I think. Working there I know that. I don't know whether its because I never had, uh, went to any of these classes and things and learned about what I'm supposed to be doing there, uhm, that's probably why I never had a hostile attitude towards people, because I never did. I was very friendly."



(ii) HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT RECEPTION CENTRE

Turning now to the Sisters, organisation, structure, hierarchy had very different significance. The group studied were one small branch house of a large Congregation of Religious, whose Mother House was in France. Starting at the bottom, Sisters were responsible to their immediate superior in the house in which they lived, who in turn was responsible to the Provincial (or Superior for a country), who was responsible to a group of Superiors, Mother General and General Chapter in France. The details of such a structure do not concern us at the moment, save in the way in which such a structure was viewed by those Sisters to whom I talked.

Beynon & Blackburn's analysis enables the hierarchical structure to be truncated in this way, but in so doing the implications of a wider hierarchy in terms of links to the Vatican and the Roman Catholic Church as a whole are lost.

Much of the hierarchical system was concerned with the Religious Vow of Obedience. While in the past Obedience was a more rigid concept of unquestioning acceptance of what was said by those superior to you, a more flexible interpretation now prevailed. As with other Religious Communities the emphasis had moved much more to individual responsibility for one's life within the Community, while still retaining obedience in certain areas. For example , a Sister who was asked to move did so - often at very little notice. Such decisions were made at a Provincial level and the local superior was as much bound by them as the particular Sister, it appeared. One Sister gave me a very clear exposition of the concept of obedience, talking of the changes that came from Vatican II.

"More religious freedom - in the strict sense, not freedom being able to do....to think you're free to do whatever you like without anybody knowing...bothering. We're still responsible to our Congregation and to our Superiors for what we do because we've made a vow of obedience and we, you know we entered a Community, a Congregation where there are...there is a hierarchy of people and values and you are responsible to a certain superior for your actions, as in the secular world, you know (yes) nurses or anybody else they're responsible to whoever is responsible (Yes). But there's more freedom in

that respect, you feel a more free person, not being tied to details if you know what I mean (Yes, yes). But religious obedience in that sense to me hasn't changed (uhm) you know, because what you do, what...we make our vow to God don't we? Well, then we haven't God here visibly present (uhm) and so the Church appoints a Superior. We are responsible for our actions to this person, and if we live our religious life as..as that which is the right way,...well then in the essentials it hasn't changed."

Another Sister also supporting this view of increased freedom, not old style blind obedience, stressed that this increased individual responsibility was obviously more demanding.

The general impression though was that there was little immediate pressure from the hierarchy. This is indeed surprising, for workers within other settings would have interpreted being moved from one part of the country to another, at little notice, as very much evidence of hierarchical pressure! Within the context of obedience however such actions lose this significance and become acceptable and expected. Again lack of family ties means that the normal barriers to such moves experienced by other workers do not apply. Ideology and hierarchy are inextricably related, the very view of hierarchical action being altered by the ideology of the members.

I was obviously able to observe the interaction between Sisters and local superior, and with the Provincial. Unfortunately, however, although during the period of study certain of the French Superiors visited the house, I was not encouraged to be present. This was perhaps understandable in that the visit was, I believe, more related to the spiritual aspects of the Life rather than their work.

The relationship between Sisters and local Superior was characterised by informality. The Congregation had dispensed with the formality of calling such Superiors, or even the Provincial, 'Mother' - a factor which diminished the distance considerably. Both within the house and outside, with regards work, no differentiation was observable - the Superior doing the cooking when

no-one else was available. An observation made on my first full day with the Sisters demonstrates the impression of the Sister/Superior relationship.

> "Slip of the tongue from Sr C.(an older Sister) when referred to Sr.S as Mother - very little evidence of hierarchy, except that Sr.S suggested (directed?) that I be taken upstairs to the Community Room after lunch."

On the two occasions I met with the Provincial, I was struck by the informality and relaxed atmosphere that prevailed. One hint that perhaps a good impression or special effort was made when the Provincial was coming emerged over lunch one day -

> "Lunch consisted of roast beef, veg, and Yorkshire Pudding - the menu was commented on and jokingly related to my presence. This provoked a muttered denial from Sr.S.(Superior). This was followed by Sr D stating that she could really let the cat out of the bag by saying that the Provincial had been expected. Perhaps this conversation was provoked by their need to explain that they didn't usually eat so well, particularly during Lent?"

It was in this area of structure and hierarchy that most of the distinctions between spiritual and material, sacred and secular emerged. It was stressed that they had the freedom to choose to do paid work or voluntary work, as long as they felt it was in keeping with the thought and aim of the Congregation. As one of the Sisters said -

> "Here...we're not doing any paid job but some of the Sisters in other houses are, they've trained as, uhm, Children's Officers, they're doing psychiatry work, uhm, also things like this, - uhm, we tried this out after the Vatican Council because the Council seemed to say that we should earn our own living and not...uhm not go around collecting any longer but I think we misinterpreted that, and we did at that time go into the Social Services and a lot of the Sisters were doing these kind of jobs, you know, but most of them preferred to come back to our own voluntary work, but also the Congregation didn't - said that if the Sisters who, who liked this kind of work and felt that they were doing a good job, and that they were having an influence on the people that they were coming in contact with, they could carry on these jobs, some of the Sisters did think so."

Normally for work to be given social recognition as work you need to be paid for it. This however did not seem to apply to the Sisters. They were paid indirectly, it could be argued, through begging/collecting, legacies, benefactors, but they did not receive direct payment. As has already been pointed out, this produces a very different relationship to work. Society seems to make an exception for those within Religious Life, and normal application of legitimating rules are suspended. It would be unacceptable for any other group to operate in this way. Voluntary work is acceptable, after one has fulfilled one's obligations to support yourself or been supported by others by work. Here voluntary work was given the status of paid work.

I sensed that perhaps there was not so much freedom with regard to the spiritual side. This spiritual side was also regarded as "private" - on several occasions references being made to private interviews with the Superiors, private questionnaires &c. Privacy was also somewhat surprisingly applied to my interviews. Although there was ample opportunity for Sisters to have discussed, at least the type of questions I had asked, with each other, they did not avail themselves of this. For a group of people who share their life, their work &c., this seemed unusual, but for some reason this had been categorised as "Private" - although I had not explicitly asked them to keep it to themselves.

Returning to the concept that work structure is coloured by the worker's experience within the wider social structure, here one finds the unusual situation of almost total overlap between the two. Even workers within residential settings, separately experience the wider social structure, but not so the Sisters.

'Community' meant that work and life style were integrated, and I will return to this point when looking specifically at the orientation of the workers. The structure helped not hindered the work, and as such could be seen in a much more positive light than by those within the Local Authority perhaps, with all the negative connotations of management, and 'them' and 'us'. The very

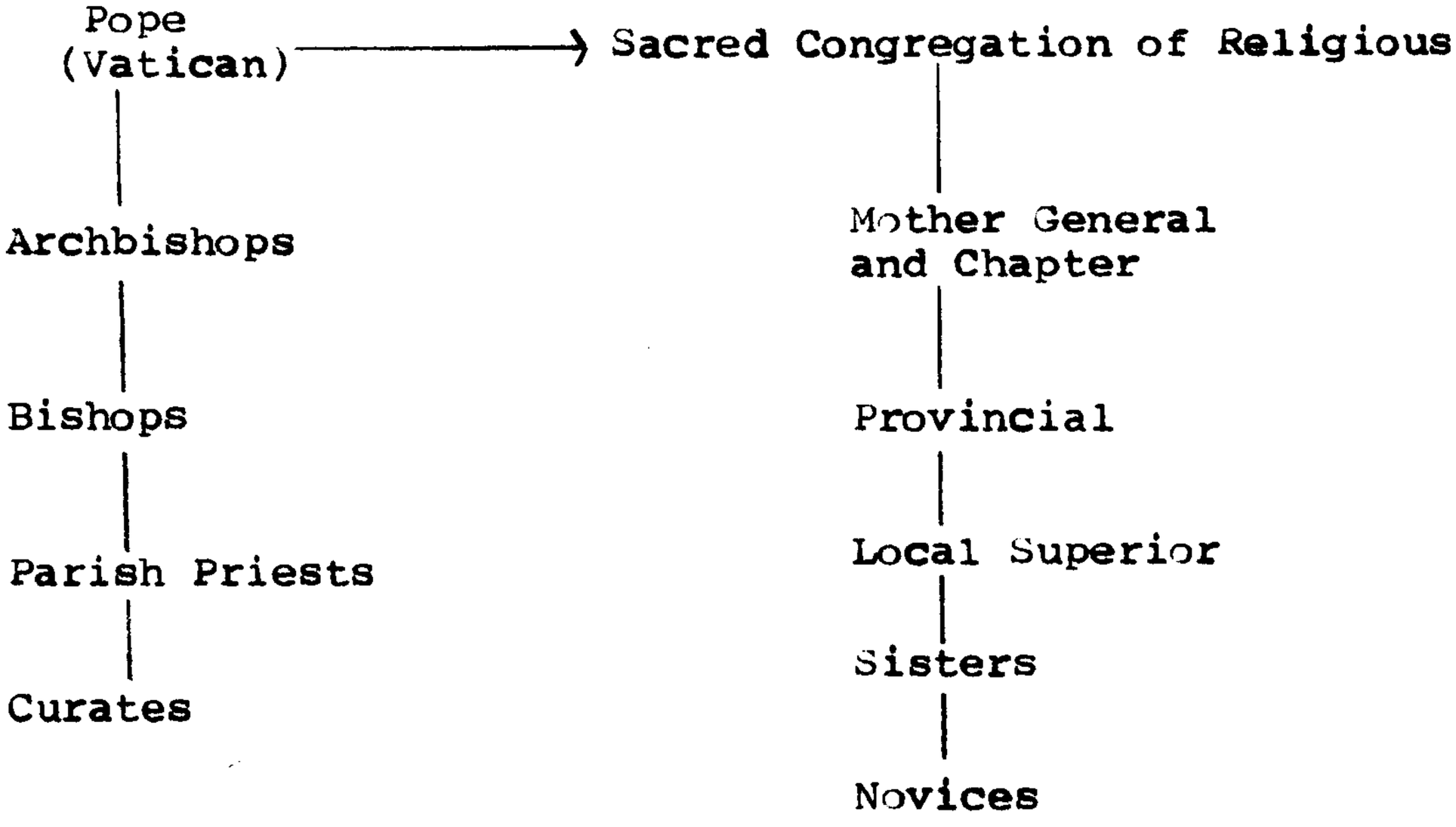
way work was organised revealed the ideology behind it, but this was not an imposed ideology from above but one that was the very foundation of the lives of all those who participated in it.

Although records of cases and numbers were kept for submission to the Provincial, accountability and supervision did not mean the same thing as within Social Services. One Sister in describing the way they had worked when Novices (i.e., whilst training to be Sisters) pointed out that advice was readily available, when they did go out on their own, but it was the supportive nature of this system that was most stressed, not the oversight of work.

> ...."we were very blessed in having Superiors who were ready to listen and to help us when we came home and this also was very helpful for us as well as for the Congregation because we were trained to account...what doyou call it, account for yourself when we came home...give an account of what had happened, especially as young sisters, young Novices, for we went as Second Year Novices. (....)But we were always trained and encouraged to relate what had happened at the patient's home. What we'd done, whether it was right or wrong (...) and we were helped very much in that way and guided along the..."

They looked to Superiors as sources of advice

> "advice from someone who had the experience and who had the <u>insight</u> into the problems of these people."



(iii) HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND A RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

As pointed out above, normally workers within residential settings separately experience the wider social structure, and this was certainly true of the Salvation Army. Although parts of their life were obviously bound by the strictures of their sect (in particular in relation to attendance at services, uniform wearing while on duty and no drinking) there still remained a freedom for personal choice - for example were your children involved in the hostel or not, how you related to immigrants. They did have private family lives.

They were part, like the Sisters, though of a very clearly defined organisational hierarchy - that of an Army. Rank clearly demarcated one level from another. There were also organisational demarcations, Assistant Manager, Manager, Divisional Commander and so on. From my own observation the Managers of the hostels had a vast amount of autonomy nevertheless, in the running of their own hostels. I had little opportunity to monitor the interaction between the Manager and his immediate Superior, but superficially at least it appeared informal and friendly.

One interesting feature of the S.A.officer's relationship to the wider organisation is raised by a former General, Albert Orsborn, that of the rejection of an employer/employee relationship.

> "More than once during my eight years as General I had to defend and explain to Government officials and legalists in this and other lands the unique nature of the Salvation Army officer's engagements and service. Strongly, sometimes fiercely holding the position gained for us by the percipience and tenacity of Bramwell Booth, I fought off any tendency to place our General and the officer in the employer/employee category. That sacred call; that glorious hazard of one's life and one's all; that love and devotion to Our Lord; that pledge to live and die beneath the flag with the fiery star, are not marketable. These values are above price, neither bought nor sold, cannot be measured by law or finance, but are known and honoured by God."
>
> (Orsborn, 1958, 42)

Pragmatic considerations seemed to govern the behaviour of the officers in charge, over and above policy orders.

"The other aspect I was interested in was the amount of autonomy he had. Certain rules were laid down nationally - no drink, no gambling - i.e., nothing that would conflict with S.A.principles. But after that left to local level.
He admitted that Orders were issued to admit 'Whosoever comes' but that this was all right for them to say but they did not have to implement it, and he didn't conceal that he made his own decisions. If H.Q., didn't approve of the way he ran the hostel it was up to them to move him!"

Like the Sisters too, being moved with little or no consultation, was a feature of Salvation Army Life. Marching Orders were issued at certain times of the year, and awaited with a certain amount of foreboding by all concerned. There was an implicit expectation that such Orders would be obeyed unquestioningly but from the Manager's wife I learned that refusal was perhaps not unknown. She herself, expecting their second child, was not going to move for anyone!

More fully the system of Marching Orders is as follows:-

> "You got a phone call to say you were to Farewell on such and such a date. This was followed up by a letter - in fact Marching Orders stating where you were being posted to. Normally 4 weeks to time of move. Although expected to go without question - I think there is probably some means of refusing certain assignments if you feel strongly enough about it."

Record Keeping was another feature of the worker's relationship to the organisation. In the Diary, the Manager referred on many occasions to sorting out the accounts, entering up details on the index cards pertaining to the men, entering invoices in stock book and preparing this for weekly stock taking, checking the bed register and daily cash record book along with the Night-man's Report, preparing records for weekly statistics and records for H.Q. The impression was of a very high proportion of his time being devoted to administrative matters and a high level of documentation and accountability being involved in the work. I did wonder how much time was actually available for more 'spiritual work' given the amount of 'management' required.

It was difficult to ascertain precisely how much of this record keeping was filtered through the Regional Manager or whether it went direct to H.Q.

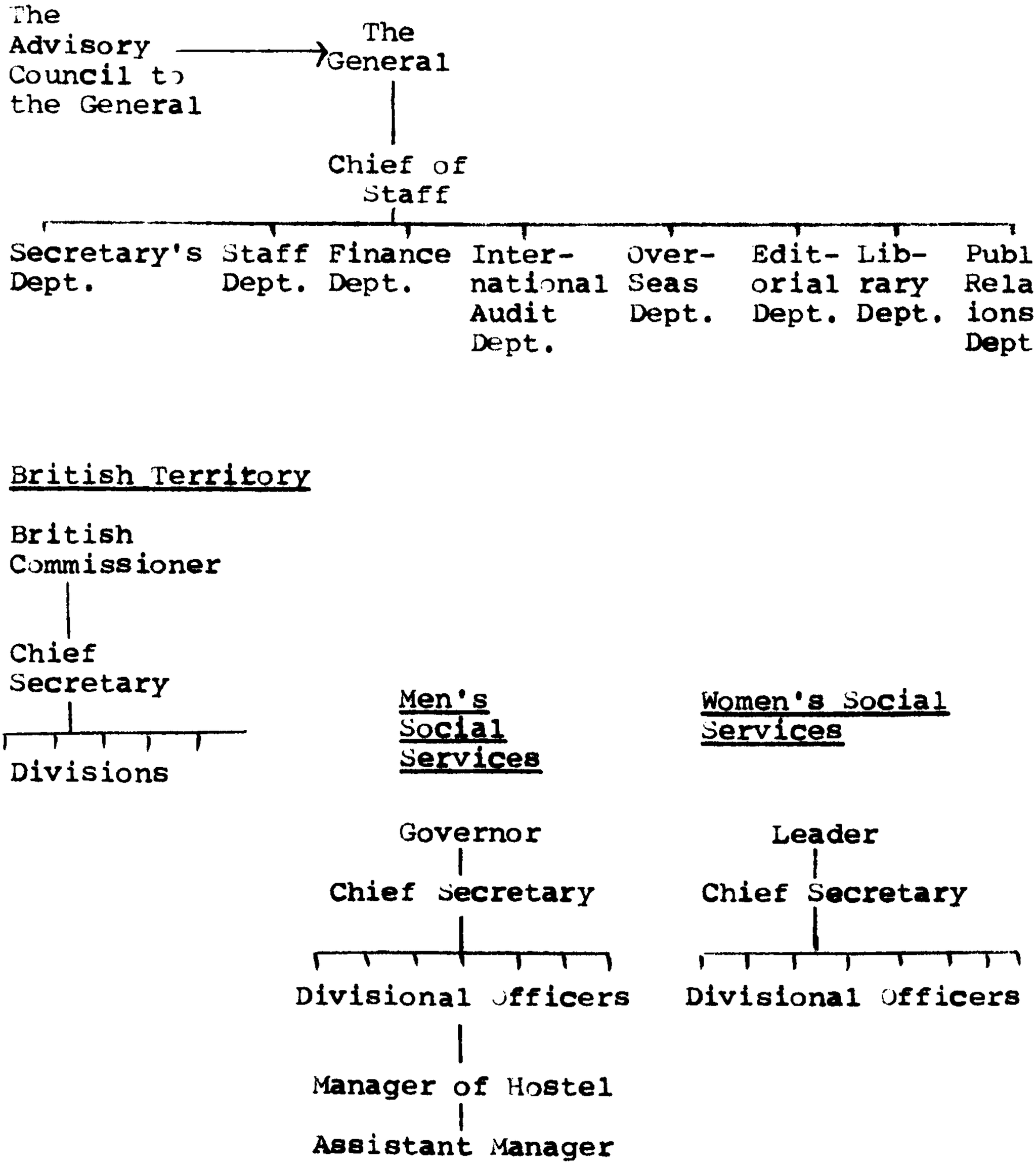
> "The Brigadier ('Regional Manager') said very little and I would judge is very near retirement age - he did not seem at all bothered by my presence. Later in the morning as I was being shown round the hostel, he was just leaving his office and going off for the rest of the day it seemed. He seemed to be returning as usual in the morning. The only active part he had played during prayers had been to quieten three cleaning ladies who came chattering and laughing somewhat noisily down the stairs in the middle of proceedings!"

One other structural factor that impinged little it appeared on the actual running of the hostel was the presence of an Advisory Board to the Corps, not just the hostel. This consisted of prominent people in the town. There are 47 boards in the country, but they seem to have little real power. It seemed to be more of a public relations exercise. The Captain implied that even if they made recommendations they were rarely acted upon.

Finally, the role of the S.A. in policy formulation and their involvement in voluntary co-ordination groups like CHAR (Formerly the Campaign for the Homeless and Rootless, and now the Campaign for Single Homeless), seemed very much curtailed by their prohibition on campaigning.

This prohibition on campaigning at local level which is to prevent policy clashes it seems, clearly affects the usefulness of his participation in local CHAR meetings. He finds the meetings not applicable to himself often because of this and is further hampered by the fact that the real discussion tends to continue in the 'pub' afterwards, where he doesn't go.

This does raise the issue however of 'rule breaking'- he apparently accepted this order but not the order to admit 'Whosoever Comes'. Why? In part, it may be explained by an inherent clash between the workers from other voluntary agencies (like the Cyrenians) and the S.A. As these workers play a prominent part in CHAR meetings, different ideologies inevitably create tension. The Captain may therefore have been grateful for an excuse for not participating and thus avoiding confrontation.



(iv) HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF THE SALVATION ARMY AND HOSTELS

(Material for this hierarchical tree had to be derived from S.A. Yearbooks)

(c) Worker to Clients

This obviously forms a central relationship - so why has it been left till last when discussing work factors? In many ways this relationship is coloured by the two previous categories, workers to colleagues and workers to organisation. If you ask someone working within the Local Authority about their work, the first issues that tend to emerge when talking of that experience relate to those categories. When the scene has been set, then people discuss their relationship to clients and what this means for their perception of work. At first glance people would define social work by stating that clients are what the job is all about, but this is to ignore the reality of the degree of influence exerted by the structure and colleagues. A difficulty arises within this argument though, that for the purposes of comparison with the Sisters, these remarks are not so applicable to them.

Who are the clients anyway? In the case of the Welfare Assistant they were the elderly, with a few physically handicapped, and as cases were passed through her to the female Neighbourhood Aid this also applied to the latter. The male Neighbourhood Aid had a more varied workload- deriving his work from different sources - at a given point during the study he was involved with six family cases, four children's, one mental health, and seven elderly and physically handicapped. Numerically the Welfare Assistant held 25 cases, the female N.A.18 and the male N.A. 19. This should not be taken to imply that these cases were officially allocated to the Neighbourhood Aids, but that they were dealing with them on behalf of other workers. Thus overall the Welfare Assistant held 50 cases, either herself or via the Neighbourhood Aids. the VHO held no cases by the very nature of her work.

I need perhaps to issue a caveat here. There is an apparent 'jump' or contradiction in my methodology as I introduce referral numbers into this section. However, I could not possibly have observed all these referrals and therefore had to accept the organisation's records in this respect. This is how <u>they</u> represent referrals and <u>I</u> thus had no choice but to also deal with them in

numerical form. It does not, however, represent a change in methodology.

The source of referral is another significant feature. The cases analysed at a given point during the study revealed the following pattern.

	Source of Last Referral	
	Neighbourhood/ Informal	Organisational/ Formal
W.A.	7	18
N.A.(Fem)	7 (2 unidentified)	9
N.A.(Male)	4	15

The two sources of referral require further explanation. It was thought to be useful to distinguish between cases referred by self, family, neighbour, friend (i.e., Neighbourhood/Informal) and those originating from statutory organisations and other more formal groups e.g., Home Help, Hospitals, Community Lawyer, Information Centre (i.e., Organisational/Formal). In terms of the last referrals the latter category was the largest, although informal sources were by no means insignificant. These cases had in some instances however been referred on several separate occasions and an analysis of all past sources of referral revealed the following.

	Neighbourhood/ Informal	Organisational/ Formal
W.A.	13	40
N.A.(Fem)	10	13
N.A.(Male)	5	19

Overall, both Neighbourhood Aids were involved with cases which had far fewer past referrals. Perhaps an indication of the level of complexity of them?

All workers when interviewed about the category of clients in most need stressed the elderly, though in view of their caseload this is perhaps to be expected. The plight of housebound elderly was particularly mentioned.

> "Int. Are there any particular people who you think are missing out at the moment?
> K. I think the handicapped elderly are, the housebound elderly are a lot...."

> "Int. And where would you see the greatest need for voluntary work?
> Y. Elderly people - because these people they don't have anyone to talk to..."

The role that was stressed most in relating to clients was that of 'friend'. The Welfare Assistant spoke of being a friend to the elderly -

> "..when they get to know you if its an elderly person, when you've been going in to them for so long they, they more or less accept you as a friend. They don't think of you as somebody from up here..."

I also observed the same relationship when I went out with the female N.A. for the first time -

> "Had a very easy style - very much a friendly neighbour/volunteer visit - no pseudo social working in evidence. Seemed fairly popular with clients and able to handle their idiosyncracies - like repeating the same story for the umpteenth time."

> "X. copes very well with the differing moods of the elderly, jollying them along, coping with little weeping sessions and generally agreeing with their various theories. The latter she perhaps does too readily as some more astute elderly would have to know that her views won't coincide exactly with theirs."

With all the workers studied, including the VHO, the emphasis seemed to be on reducing the social distance between themselves as workers and the clients. One interpretation of this could be in the lack of training, and consequent lack of professional model that they followed. They may have needed to maintain status in the eyes of colleagues, but not in relation to clients. It is useful to extend the quotation from the Interview with the WelfareAssistant quoted above -

> "...when they get to know you if its an elderly person, when you've been going in to them for so long, they, they more or less accept you as a friend. They don't think of you as somebody from up here, but sometimes this gets a little bit too complicated because they want you and won't accept second best - this sounds big headed I suppose, I don't mean it to be, what I mean is that they, they associate themselves with you and when I send C. or when I sent X or Y (N.A.s) to do a routine visit for me they wanted to know why I didn't go, you know, but they, they do accept them but they like to feel that there's just somebody and I still feel, they do realise that youre part of a service but you're not family, you're friend plus part of the service, so that besides the family knowing about them the services know about them, you know Social Services knows about them, but you still become their friend and they still relate to you (Int.Yes, as a person) Yes, as a person (Int. as an individual)."

What the Welfare Assistant seemed to me to be saying was what Davies found his volunteers stating

> "The volunteers saw their role as a marginal one in the sense that it seemed to take into account the feelings of the families that he was 'on our side' but yet remained a stranger, someone to respect, to defer to, to be grateful to, to admire...."
>
> "One volunteer captured the role succinctly: 'I think they see me as a friend of the family - <u>an outside friend</u>.'"
>
> (My emphasis) Davies, 1977, 54)

The VHO had very strong views on disengaging herself from any association with the Department when interviewing clients:-

> "<u>Int</u>. Some people expect clients to behave differently towards you because you're a member of a statutory service than they would if you represented some voluntary agency. Do you agree with this? .....
> <u>X.</u> Oh - do they react differently, or do I want them to?
> <u>Int</u>. No - do they?
> <u>Z.</u> Uhm, yes, I'm afraid they do. I bend over backwards to try and avoid it happening .. we go out of our way to try and get across that we don't wish to be identified with the organisation that we belong to, and it's so true. I mean I'm very conscious that I, I go into some home or they come into the office and I behave in the most incredibly informal relaxed way to make them feel that I am not your usual Social Services employee - which you know is laughable really, but obviously it's a hang up with me that I don't want them to behave differently towards me because I happen to be working for the local authority."

A certain ambiguity of role was evident in the worker/client relationship, but the tendency as has been shown was to an "amateur" role which minimised the distance between worker and client. An element of dependency creation was observable in the work of the Welfare Assistant, perhaps explicable in terms of a need to re-inforce her status in the eyes of colleagues or perhaps in terms of lack of professional training.

Client intervention was based on a relatively task oriented system, people were normally referred for a specific reason that usually required a particular task to be performed, e.g., help in filling in rent and rebate forms, negotiating with DHSS, admission to an old people's home. There was an observed tendency to continue contact after this task had been performed, a potential source of

jealousy with Social Workers who felt more pressure to terminate cases as soon as possible and viewed this prolonged contact with clients as an unattainable luxury.

Lastly, in terms of the relationship that Local Authority workers had with their clients, availability/ accessibility was controlled. In the case of the W.A. and N.A's this was normally on a 9-5 basis, with little over-time and no weekend duties. That this was the norm, was highlighted by an exception that arose at the outset of my period of study. The W.A.had seen an article in the paper relating to a well-known client of hers who had been mugged, and contrary to her usual practice she in fact visited the client over the weekend. There was no provision however for her to be paid for such work.

The category of clients with which the Sisters dealt were in many ways quite similar, involving a number of elderly, together with a few problem families that served to distinguish the two groups of clients. They had been founded to nurse the sick poor but were finding that the definition of 'poor' was changing. As one Sister put it:

> "The poor in our view has changed in many ways. At one time we just nursed the sick poor and that meant materially poor (uhm). If you like, those that are poor now, are poor in a .. Uh. (Pause) in a spiritual or moral way (yes), who are not materially poor, and we take all that into consideration, and perhaps we've broadened in that way. (Yes) Actually wherever there's a need, I think we, it's true to say, we help now where we can."

Clients could be broken down theoretically into those who were regarded as General Nursing Cases and those listed as Social Visits. However, in practice this distinction is difficult to maintain because inevitably a large portion of their involvement, even with heavy nursing cases, was also social, i.e., could be called social work. To take figures for the last year - those for 1976 being misleading in their incompleteness, there were 64 cases for nursing and 115 social visits. I did not have access to the breakdown of cases between various Sisters, but when asked individually whether they considered that they spent a greater proportion of their time involved in social visiting rather than nursing, they each seemed to carry the same proportion of each category. Work was

distributed by mutual agreement, being divided on a basis of how much people could manage. Night Duty was also shared, a number of patients requiring night duty at any one time, being a severe drain on their resources and necessitating considerable flexibility of work allocation. I was never present when work was allocated, owing to the informal way in which this operated, in contrast to Social Services where I had access to the referral forms.

To a much greater extent, there was a continuity of clients which was mentioned on several occasions. For example

> "Interesting continuity of people helped - the first person taken into the Project remembered the Sisters coming in to care for them (she was only 2) when their mother was ill or confined. So although the style of work has changed with the time they are serving much the same people."

Referrals were made from a wide variety of sources and could be similarly divided into neighbourhood/informal and organisational/formal, the most significant extra category coming from Church organisations and clergy of various denominations. However, by far the largest category came from the family, neighbour continuum and not from religious sources per se. Clients came because of personal recommendation often - a kind of grapevine approach to referrals.

Worker/client relationship was very much that of a friend (despite any professional skills that they may bring with them into the home in the way of nursing &c). This lack of officialdom they saw as a distinguishing feature of their work.

Talking of the differences between the Sisters and statutory workers - the following was said about why clients behave differently

> "....sometimes because you have a habit, sometimes unfortunately because perhaps the social worker might have had (...) a more business like attitude than the Sister has because by our liv.. our life we have a different attitude - you know what I mean. And then you live closer to a patient than a social worker would, so therefore there's just that subtle difference in your attitude towards that patient. You know more about her because you've lived with her more or less, you're with her from morning till night quite often, sometimes it can be from night till morning, and so you begin

to know more about her and she begins to rely on you in such a way that she puts more trust in you. Not that she doesn't trust the social worker (No, I understand that) but she looks upon her social worker as someone who comes in <u>from outside</u> to know how things are going, but she looks upon the Sister as somebody who is inside all the time, helping her perhaps."

Another Sister explained their work thus

"I wouldddescribe what we're doing as domiciliary, more, you know, working with the family, not as a social worker, not as somebody you know just to get talking to them in order to get their background and then walk away to give it somebody else - no, one with the family, <u>become one with the family</u> in order to help them - to give them the support that they need at that particular time. (....) So I would describe it as a kind of ...a member of a community who is - really <u>a community is a family</u> - made up of different members...."

With the lack of officialdom, certain specific ideas were related. It was felt that patients/clients appreciated the fact that the Sisters could give more time. This point was made over and over again

"<u>Int.</u> Why do you think that people seek help from your community rather than secular agencies or any other agencies?
<u>Sr.B</u> Well.. it has often been said to me that... people prefer us to the district nurses, for instance, because, well perhaps because we can stay longer in the home and we can do more for the patient and for the family. The district nurses I know can't do the work that we're doing, they have a round of work and they have to get round that quota of work in, in a morning, they can't stay long."

Confidentiality was another factor mentioned -

"<u>Int.</u> Some people believe that the client or the patient would behave differently towards you, because you're a member of a religious community than they would to a member of the statutory services. Do you agree with this?
<u>Sr.B</u> Yes, I do because I have found people saying to me, I know I can talk to you and it won't go any further but if I talk to such a person or such a person I'm never sure if they're not going to pass on the information, but we know that we can talk to you in confidence and that's it."

In addition it was felt that statutory workers - whether from respect or other reasons - elicited more guarded conversation from their clients -

"Sr.S. They'd be a ...bit more guarded as regards what they would say, I would think, you know.
Int. What to..the statutory?
Sr.S. Yes, I would think they would sort of be more on their guard you know...."

Another factor in the client/worker relationship that strongly affected the way work was perceived was that it was not task oriented. The Sisters were there to provide an all-round service, to respond to whatever needs they were able and this uniqueness was readily recognisable by clients -

"It later emerged that this lady had refused all offers of home helps and meals on wheels &c., and said that all she wanted was the Sisters. She said that "They are everything in one" - who else would clean, shop, cook, nurse &c. - indeed she had a point".

This is obviously a lot more demanding than being able to draw very definite lines of job demarcation, and say that this is not my task. This variety of tasks demanded a lot of "adaptation". The potential age span of clients in particular required continuous flexibility.

"So, therefore, it's from childhood up to old age - sometimes you find yourself a little...but (laughter) you know, you have to be very adaptable to the situation. (Very, yes!)"

The Sisters were more accessible to clients, by the very fact that they lived at their work base and clients in need were encouraged to make contact at any time, sometimes they didn't need encouraging:

"If she called late at night by telephone, hysterical, she was listened to - on the basis that youcouldn't afford to take the risk of ignoring her."

Understandably there were clearer role expectations for the Sisters, and when dealing with Catholic families in particular, this included the spiritual element. Particularly with a dying patient, they would be asked to say some prayers, but the overt religious content of their work was strictly at the request of the client.

Their distinctive service obviously did lie in the spiritual dimension of their work. One Sister saw it like this

"I would say there is a role to be played, because they seem to expect it from us (Uhm, in what sort of way particularly?) Well, really to be witnesses of Christ (uhm) in the first place and then if you're a witness of Christ you'll try to live your life, build your life accordingly. So therefore they will be disappointed if they don't see you as a witness of Christ."

They talked too of bringing 'spiritual uplift and comfort' to their clients.

Reference was often made to "supportive work" or "supportive care" as a description of their role. But it was the contact with people that was thought to make the real difference -

> "your contact with people in their sorrows, their troubles, their trials, all these little homely things give you something that, I know I'm not saying I know we've all got it, but people say to you - 'You're more holy' than perhaps (yes) another type of order where they only do something quite different, and I say 'Well, that's our contact with the people'. It gives you something and that's all I can think of, that people are sort of attracted by that something that you can't help having because (By the very nature of the work that you're doing...) they've given it to you, it's nothing that we have acquired ourselves (yes). It just rubs off on you, (yes) their troubles, you know, that you will be willing to help them with their troubles if it's possible."

There was a respect for the elderly that was also expressed in the respect they paid to older members of the Community. This too affected their work, but this like the depth of their involvement with clients is more appropriately considered under orientation. They, too, felt that the elderly were a category most in need.

Clients were allowed to ventilate their feelings, and on several occasions I saw them accept behaviour from clients which would have provoked a very strong response from most other workers.

> "Arrived at C's - was met quite angrily that we were late. Between 10 and 10.30am didn't mean 11.50 which it was when we arrived. I was also viewed with distrust and thinly veiled anger. Very grumpy and irritable and I tried to keep as much in the background initially so as not to antagonise the situation further."

Finally, contact by clients with Sisters who had now left the area was welcomed, and often references were made in my presence to a client having received a letter from such and such a Sister, or looking forward to a visit from her when she returned to the area briefly.

With both the Salvation Army and the Reception Centre I had far less opportunity to see how staff actually interacted with their clients. Thus their attitude to clients had to be constructed from what they said.

Firstly, who were the clients? In both instances

they were single homeless men covering a wide age range, including pensioniers, but excluding the young or at least actively discouraging them. The length of stay varied considerably at both institutions.

Looking now in more depth at worker/client relationships within the Salvation Army. An almost utilitarian attitude seemed to pervade the hostel, due for the most part to the men's own attitudes.

> "He talked about them caring but said that men nowadays weren't interested in care, they just wanted cheap accommodation."

There is considerable pressure put on men to book in for Full Board - I was not sure why - possible economics or maybe it gave him far more control over the men? He estimated that of the 99 men in at the moment about ¼ were on Bed and Breakfast. Food could be purchased by the B & B men in the dining room, but not by casuals. The Captain claimed there was no call for casual eating, which I felt inclined to dispute owing to their comparative nearness to the City Centre.

Very significantly he had a somewhat cynical attitude to the effect of a religious element on the men.

> "When I queried how affected the men were by it being a religious organisation - he openly said that for many it had no affect at all, for others they used religion for their own ends. He explained how this process worked. Men claimed conversion and came forward to the Penitent Form if they wanted to change their job (if staff), or perhaps to be taken on as staff, because this was seen as a way of ingratiating yourself with the officers. In the past such men were given a red jersey as a mark of their conversion -thus they were easily identifiable.
> The Captain was surprisingly cynical about this I felt - although later he admitted that he himself had come into the Army in that way."

There seemed a very grave danger of a paternalistic attitude towards the men, taking what gestures they made (for example giving presents to his daughter) rather too much for granted I felt.

The last vestiges of a Protestant Work Ethic could be detected, although this particular hostel did not seem as brutal in its enforcement of this.

> "I asked what his attitude to encouraging work was?
>
> There are 12 men working out. He said that he tried to encourage men to get employment but was most unsuccessful in this. However it would appear that this encouragement was probably only on the

level of exhortation, and men were not turned out, as in some hostels, to look for work."

This point is linked to another major factor that I perceived to govern worker-client relationships - that of habit formation.

"We then went into the section where I had had coffee earlier - this had apparently first been intended as a small alcoholic unit but had never materialised. It was supposedly a five bed sick bay - but had only been used once or twice in the whole year ... Against the wall was propped a frame with canvas stretched and the beginnings of a rug being worked. The Captain explained that he was tentatively trying to start up an occupational therapy session, on a regular basis, and convert the room for this purpose removing the beds as they were not really used. He talked of having tried this out with some men, and claimed that as a result of a survey about a dozen men had shown some interest. He would send Captain Q. to get some training from other groups. He stressed the regularity of the sessions, and this was a theme that was to recur - don't provide anything all the time but get the man used to taking part in that activity at a regular time each week if he so wished."

I asked what social activities, if any, were arranged? Tuesday night in the Sale Room they have a games night with about 12 - 25 men attending. Table Tennis, Draughts &c. Regularity again stressed rather than constant provision, I couldn't help thinking of the phrase 'Habit is the flywheel of society'! Habit formation seems the name of the game."

In the original plans for the building, one of the two lounges had been designated for Old Age Pensioners alone, but this had firmly and hastily been changed by the Captain. But did this indicate something of the attitude to the elderly of the other Army Officers?

"There are two lounges, another one which is carpeted had been designated as the OAP lounge, but he had changed this into a non-smoking lounge as he felt that just because a man was 65 he didn't form a race apart! Goodness only knows who dreamed that one up in the plans!"

There appeared to be an element of regimentation of the men even within the lounges.

"We then went upstairs to the room where prayers had been held - as I had expected this was a multi-purpose lounge and had now been transformed by a man cleaning the floors and still at it! The chairs had been rearranged in rows but this time all facing the T.V. leaving a vast wide open expanse that was used apparently for the men who wished to read - sitting on what I'm not sure! Captain P. said that one evening he had happened

> to come up and find the room in darkness with the TV watching group glued to the set one end and at the other a group trying to read. He had put the lights on that end, amidst protests from the TV men which soon quelled when they saw who it was, and from then on he made a practice of coming up each evening to check the light is on for those wishing to read."

This element of recognition of his authority and an unwillingness to challenge it was referred to again by the Captain, in his diary:

> "Saturday 10pm - 11pm.
> 'In front office and around entrance checking register, talking with night staff, and noting things generally. Interesting to note that men who normally come in "merry" and hang around talking go straight off to bed when I'm in the entrance.'"

One source of common tension in such hostels is that of bed-wetting but this issue was not raised at all by the Captain. Did he consider it an inappropriate topic of conversation for a female researcher?

The element of regimentation was clear. The hallway notice-board gave prominence to Do's and Don'ts notices - according to the diary these increased after my two visits, but I did not have an opportunity to scrutinise the content of them. In his diary the Captain records

> "Posted up various notices written out yesterday - "Do and Don't" &c., necessary as incoming men don't know the ropes and we aren't able to rely on other residents to guide them."

Other notices were also displayed around the hostel but from the example given below, I'm not sure to what effect!

During my attendance at the prayer meeting I noted that

> "The room was littered with cigarette buts and matches - the floor was covered with vinyl it looked like - and obviously cleaning did not start till after prayers. There was a notice attached to the bottom of the T.V. saying that anyone who was found dropping cigarette stubs on the floor would be asked to leave immediately - whether this meant the room or the hostel I'm not sure. There were large painted tin cans scattered around for ashtrays - but not used it appeared!
>
> "He complained about the men throwing stubs, ash, matches &c., on the floor both there and in the corridors and on the stairs but did not refer to the notice."

Pressure to conform was evident in many instances of officers relating to the men - as was highlighted in the pressure to book full board. Casuals were dissuaded.

> "There was adequate bath, shower and toilet facilities - and I gathered that sometimes some persuasion to bath might be placed on a man, when he made a request for clothing.(This was from his wife and I have no direct information). When I asked about razors and towels being provided - they had apparently given men towels from those which came into the sale at no charge, the idea being that the man returned it when he was able to get his own. They had not been returned and so after providing about 100 odd towels, they now charged (10p I think). Although I pressed the point about a guy borrowing a razor this was not really clarified."

This I felt displayed a certain lack of understanding about the way of life of most of these men, although one could sympathise with the inconvenience of loss. This charging for items was controversial.

> "The question of charging for items - that is selling them rather than giving them away -He admitted that some Salvationists felt that as stuff was given to the S.A. it should be given to clients. He justified the selling on economic grounds - they run a van and employ two men to collect. In addition there are the rates for the building - so the process does cost something. I asked what he thought about the 'more dignified' argument and he agreed with this too. It did appear that they tried to discourage residents going to the sales - this in particular applied to the Shoe Sale where 10p entrance fee was charged (to offset thefts) and there also seemed some implication that they were not charged so much - but I can't substantiate this. A shirt seemed to cost 10p."

At the Reception Centre perhaps the 'soap and water view' accounted for men being given pyjamas (God willing!) and lent a razor if necessary.

Pressure on Officers to run their hostels economically meant that in turn this affected the philosophy towards the men. The bedroom wardrobe lockers provide an example.

> "The snag with the lockers was that a man, though not charged rental was expected to cough up 50p deposit for the key. This was to cover replacement because so many men went off with the key, because of rising costs in replacing keys this had been raised to 50p and he was thinking of putting it up again! I somewhat instinctively protested that this might prove difficult for the man on DHSS having to find this out of meagre pocket money. This was got round by saying that

> maybe he'd institute an installment plan, but there didn't seem to be one in existence. The exhortation to the men to get keys earlier that morning now made more sense - obviously take up was limited for obvious reasons."

All these points indicate a certain view of how men should conduct their lives and the values that they should hold. Even the very newness of the building contributed to higher expectations.

> "Made an interesting comment re the newness of building - that you tended to expect/hope for more from the men and were therefore often disappointed."

However, despite the somewhat negative and restrictive picture painted, the Manager did seem to make time for quite a lot of individual contact, and was at pains to point this out in his Diary.

At the Reception Centre, the Manager's relationship with the residents was also difficult to assess fully, but a certain basic attitude of respect for them as human beings seemed present.

> "On the way out through the workshop we passed a whole group of men glued to theTV - it was difficult to establish the kind of relationship he had with the men. He seemed to respect them in the sense of not talking about them in their presence as though they weren't there, and of not expecting them to leap up and open doors for him."

He referred to their 'reputed reputation' of strictness -

> "but felt that they really weren't strict, but that the critics confused strictness by mixing license and liberty"

In trying to elicit who exactly were the clientelle I asked if there were typical characteristics of the man who came to the centre. This was a summary of his response:-

> "He seemed to think the man wasn't distinctive really.
> He saw the only real difference being in the degree of pride, rejection of a lousy mucky place and a preference for the higher cleanliness maintained here....
> He thought the difference in type of man was a question of degree. Some people are more conditioned to the way of life - those who had been mentally ill. There were a high proportion of mentally ill and he said it was very difficult to do anything about mental illness today - quite difficult to get treatment - it turned into a question of containment."

His view of clients was further illuminated in a discussion of his expectations of worker/client involvement, and his philosophy about rougher kinds of provision.

> "He thought that there should only be a small number of 'rock bottom' places - where he suggested there was no difference from his usual existence in a skipper, except someone running the place. He felt that as soon as society got mixed up with the man they should bring him nearer to the norms of that society, otherwise he might as well be left where he is. He maintained that you had got to interfere with him to do this, and you increased theinterference until it was done communally as we experience it."

However bringing the man 'nearer to the norms of society' did not at this juncture include encouraging him to go out to work - a marked difference to the S.A. attitude.

> "If a man was going out to work and living in the Centre this almost always meant a troublemaker. Usually because of drinking, bringing in drink &c. Don't encourage a man to stay long once he's found work. Some centres reverse the process of finding the man work, then lodgings, he prefers a system of finding lodgings and then work, because he feels men are sooner fit for lodgings than they are for work."

Workers assume a responsibility for notputting temptation in the man's way - for example he is not allowed out the night of the evening he has just been admitted, and the next day he is taken by car to the Employment to sign on,for it is considered too much of a temptation to let him roam around on his own. There is therefore a fairly strong authoritarian basis to worker/client relationships, as well as being institutionalised and affected by the bureaucratic form filling that has to take place.

With regards to the young -

> "They actively discourage the young and won't take under 17's because there is alternative state provision for them. Not many young people do come, some ex-mental hospital patients. Overnight stops allowed but they then move them on because he feels the only influence they'll get at the Centre is a bad one. Contain them only."

At the other end of the spectrum they have 6 or 7 OAP's in a week, who may have a lengthy stay here.

Bed wetting did not apparently cause too much of a problem, and therefore interfere with client/worker relationships.

"They basically put up with it. Not so much a problem because they won't have drunks in. However if you ignore it you get more."

Contact between the workers and clients was limited and for the most part purely functional. Contact was limited by the length of stay of residents, as very little follow up work was possible.

Involvement of Researcher with Clients

Before moving on to the area of orientation, the question of the degree of involvement of the researcher with clients needs to be touched upon. It is significant I feel that I felt far less pressure to become involved with clients when going out with Local Authority workers - the clients too seemed to have less expectations of me. I was normally drawn into the conversation much earlier when visiting with the Sisters. On my first day within Social Services I observed -

"It was interesting that in contrast to the Sisters I felt less of a pressure to become involved - I could just sit back and watch. The clients too seemed to have less curiosity and less expectations of me too."

T.N. With all the elderly cases we have met so far there appears to be no problem in accepting my presence - they all seem (with few exceptions) to be so starved of company that they are delighted at anyone calling who will spend some time talking. I have varied the degree of my involvement in the interviews - usually waiting until X. has completed her 'business' and we've got on to the more social - but very necessary - part of the visit."

The ease with which I was accepted by most clients was surprising, and probably said much for the trust that clients displayed in the workers from both agencies. New clients showed no significant difference in reaction in this regard.

As there was no direct contact with clients in either the Salvation Army Hostel or the Reception Centre this aspect of researcher involvement was not applicable.

Orientation

"We have used the concept of orientation to refer in a general way to a central organising principle which underlies people's attempts to make sense of their lives. We start from the belief that people's understanding of their work is important, and such understanding is significantly affected by their experience of work and is also related in some way to their understanding of other aspects of their

> lives. Furthermore, it should not be considered independent of other people's interpretations and hence actions. People come to some accommodation with the limitations imposed by compliance in the world of work, but because of the stresses due to these limitations the accommodation is unlikely to be an easy one."
> (Beynon & Blackburn, 1976, 6)

So say Beynon and Blackburn in their book Perceptions of Work.

What orientations did the particular people studied have? Unlike the previous section dealing with work factors, orientation is more difficult to assess. Reliance has to be placed on what might initially be seen as methodological categories, i.e., how such orientation was revealed, rather than an objective ones. Nevertheless, orientation can most clearly be demonstrated by looking at the relationship of workers to the researcher, and at what workers explicitly said about their job and their motivation for doing it.

(a) <u>Worker to Researcher</u>

Within the Social Services I was received in a friendly manner and quickly became accepted as part of the scenery. It seemed that I was automatically included in various social events, although other personal connections, within the Department as a whole,may have facilitated this.

Although workers at various times attempted to utilise my presence, and felt the need to justify what they were doing, they were remarkably unthreatened by my presence. To return to the idea of utilising my presence, two examples will be given - The Welfare Assistant, involved as she was in a wage and status struggle, thought she could enlist my help

> "W. was able to openly say that she hoped that I was noting down how much work she did &c., and seemed to be suggesting that this could be utilised to support their claims for a better deal."

and "X. suggested two visits - one she'd very much like my company because it was "a bit of a drag" - she had wanted W.to go with her."

> "X...talked about being "safer" if I visited this woman with her. Could share talking."

With the last example, the Neighbourhood Aid used me to help her out with a difficult interview - difficult not because of its complexity but its boredom.

The effect of what might be termed a utilitarian value system within society was evident in the need of workers to be thought useful, of being helpful to the client and of appearing in control of the situation. The relationship with the hierarchy in many ways made the latter very unreal, as has already been pointed out.

> "Arranged details of visits with VHO on Thursday - got involved in a long winded explanation of involvement with old people's homes. This was fairly characteristic.
> T.N. Does Z. sense that there is some query about her usefulness - and she is therefore trying to justify her position, particularly to me. Seems anxious that I see that she is doing some work. Threatened?"

This was the reaction that I experienced on my second day within Social Services and it raises the whole question of the meaning of work. Raymond Williams in an article "The Meanings of Work" points out:-

> "Take, for example, a very simple test of meaning: whether we do work so obviously useful that we have only to describe it, not justify it."
> (Williams, 1968, 284)

Obviously within Social Services people felt they had to justify their work - it wasn't enough simply to describe it.

With the Sisters though, a very different attitude prevailed - the need to justify their work was very rare, and perhaps stemmed from religious views about humility as well as a deep sense of doing work that only needed description not justification. The difference would appear to lie in the consistency between work, lifestyle and belief experienced by the Sisters, and it is worth exploring this idea further. Raymond Williams explains it thus:-

> "The problem of meaning isn't only between how we see the job and how others see it. It's also between how we see the job and how we see ourselves; a question of how much of what we are goes into, gets a chance in, our work; does it diminish us or confirm us in our deepest feelings? And these answers needn't correspond to what pass for general answers, about being useful and respected. What we're asking, there, is about the deepest meaning of work."
> (Williams, 1968, 284)

For the Sisters, their work was confirming their deepest feelings.

Goffman in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life puts it slightly differently.

> "And so individuals often find themselves with the dilemma of expression versus action. Those who have the time and talent to perform a task well may not, because of this, have the time or talent to make it apparent that they are performing well."
> (Goffman, 1975, 43)

As a visitor to the Community I was warmly welcomed and initially the problem was one almost of being over-anxious, over-solicitous about me. However as time went on there seemed to be a gradual progression from the role of visitor to a position of greater acceptance and of less need to worry over my presence. Initially there was an interesting demarcation made between what it was and was not acceptable for me - as a visitor - to do. I was encouraged to help in a client's house but not with domestic chores within their own home. By the third day there was a perceptible change:-

> "I had got up to take Sr.C's plate for her and this roused some protest. I said that perhaps I would get promoted to doing the washing up the next day - I was told that I could help Sr.D (who does the glasses, cutlery &c). The atmosphere seems to be getting even more relaxed and I am being accepted as part of the scenery."
>
> T.N. This behaviour is typically 'nunny' - they seem to feel that you have to be treated as a guest, but gradually this can be broken down so that they do not feel too badly about allowing you to help. They seem to have had no problem about suggesting that I help with bed-making, house-work &c., for clients but in their own house different rules apply. I wondered if some pressure had been put on Sr.S (the Superior) - because I sensed she had been in the minority yesterday in refusing my offers of help."

One sign of the degree of familiarity with my presence was when I was mistakenly addressed as 'Sister' by several of them:

It was assumed that I held a similar value system and with one Sister in particular the fact that I was a professional legitimated her divulging information about clients, that she would otherwise have found unacceptable. This idea of professional to professional cuts across the analysis offered initially that the Sisters were non-professionals within a voluntary organisation. However, not all Sisters stressed this professional status and they were in the distinctive position of being

professionals in one set of relationships with clients, i.e., the nursing one,and avowed amateurs in the social work sphere.

The high degree of attention given to the researcher, has in one way been touched on when talking about the worker/colleague relationship. There was a degree of single-mindedness that is possibly explicable in terms of vocation, that was not observable within the Local Authority, but this point will be developed later.

Linked to this was a high degree of anxiety that they were not helping me enough, or were not providing the right sort of experience or information. Much reassurance on this account was needed. This was partly due, I feel, to their lack of understanding of the research process and an inherent humility that tended to minimise the kind of work and quality of work they did. For example at the end of the first full day there I wrote

> "Over-anxious that they would not have enough cases to interest me - tried to reassure the Superior on this several times - not the quantity that mattered but what actually they were doing."

Like the Local Authority workers, the Sisters also felt able to utilise my presence in some ways, although this was done by some individuals more than others. For example, one Sister voiced the opinion at our first meeting that perhaps I could support a request for Local Authority funds for their work. At a later stage she also suggested that perhaps I would be able to talk about their work at meetings for them. On a more professional level, certain queries regarding divorce and Social Security were also addressed to me.

One somewhat significant issue with regard to their relationship towards me was the way in which I was introduced. Most Sisters had a deliberate policy of not mentioning my social work background, simply introducing me as a friend. After one visit where reference was made by the client to a social worker, I took the point up

> "Walking back I mentioned this reference to a social worker - Sr.A said that social workers were not very popular - she said that their clients seemed to clam up if you mentioned a social worker. I wondered if this is true or

> whether this is a somewhat biased view? She had been careful only to introduce me as a friend because of this feeling. She had apparently mentioned the wariness of one client yesterday to the Superior."

I was very well received at the Reception Centre and far less formally than I had expected. My initial contact by telephone with both the Manager and his Regional Manager was most co-operative and friendly.

The Manager, perhaps because of his imminent retirement, was very open about his own philosophies and both the good and bad points about the Centre.

After the series of difficulties I had encountered with the Salvation Army in other parts of the country (outlined in Chapter One), I was somewhat unsure of the kind of reception I would receive. I was very pleasantly surprised. The S.A.Manager was both friendly and very open in what he told me, both of the hostel workings and his own personal background.

From my first meeting with himI recorded the following in the Research Diary -

> 29.4.77...."After some toing and froing through the building eventually caught up with Capt.P. Briefly met his wife in the throes of the shoe sale...Pleasant couple who restored my faith in the S.A. ....Was more honest and said that one of the difficulties of me following him round was that he didn't actually do much for a lot of the time. Raised no objections to me seeing round the place and talking to him further."

Later in my conversation he talked about his experience in Dublin and in the kind of work he'd done there. In a subsequent interview he also gave me a kind of testimony of his own conversion and his involvement with the S.A.

The honesty alluded to above was very refreshing, because it meant that even though I would apparently be unable to pursue my original methods I did know where I stood and yet still retained co-operation from him.

> "Pointed out that it would be difficult to follow him during the course of a day because at times he didn't do much. It was very ad hoc - if a man needed help he gave it, he didn't follow any programme. Very honest about this."

It was also in my relationship to the S.A.Manager that I saw quite clearly the impact of completely unconnected circumstances on the progress of ones own research. From the Diary that he kept I learned that during that period he was contacted by another social work student - his first entry regarding this is illuminating:

> Monday 9.30pm. Visit from T.W., social work student (Oh God, not another!!) to make appointment for 7pm Thursday."

This was followed up by :-

> Thursday 7pm. - 8pm. Visit from T.W.seeking information to support a project he is undertaking. As he didn't know the questions he wanted to ask I didn't know the answers he wanted."

From this, I am sure that my own reception and the response I received would have been rather different had I not made contact first!

(b) What Workers Said about Their Work

Obviously the expectations that people bring to their work and the degree to which these are met does much to determine the level of job satisfaction. Why people engage in that work? How people refer to that work? These are revealing questions.

It is perhaps significant that Social Services workers said little unless directly asked about why they were doing the work, although more information was often volunteered about why other people did voluntary work. Motivation was most usually expressed, on a personal level, as enjoying that kind of work, with a pragmatic note also inserted. The latter was particularly applicable to the Neighbourhood Aids who had been drawn from the unemployed. The Welfare Assistant was not in a financial position to do voluntary work, but was anxious to work with people and she referred to some inborn kind of ability which led people to confide in you.

> "I don't know, neighbours and people around used to seem to come to me and I used to sort of solve their problems, you know, it seemed..like it's just something that sort of is inborn into you..."

In many ways though it was almost a negative motivation that attracted the Neighbourhood Aids, they were unemployed, bored with nothing to do, and it was this feeling that they attributed as the basis for much voluntary work too. What emerges from this is therefore a rather undefined motivation, that people found difficult to articulate.

Social work was seen in terms of dealing with people and the listening role was always stressed. The female Neighbourhood Aid talked also of a "go between role", particularly in relation to clients and DHSS. Social services was seen as attempting to be a "catch all" for social problems, particularly by the VHO, and she argued quite forceably against this

> "Int. Do you think that there are any gaps in the provision made by Social Services - in the Department?"
>
> Z. ....Yes, I don't think it works terribly well overall, as for defined gaps - I think there always will be. I think it took on more than it could chew initially, I think it went around perpetrating the myth that "Bring your problems to us, we are a problem solving agency" - and I think they were kidding themselves because I think, you know, the more you pour into ... that it's just never going..to cover it. I suppose ideally I would like it to be not required at all. I mean if you could get sufficiently good community things going, then it could revert back to that." (Int with VHO.p. 18.10.76)

From this comment it can readily be seen that the VHO had a more sophisticated view of the Department in which she was working and a higher degree of politicisation, accompanied by no small amount of cynicism. The other workers accepted the work situation much more on a simplistic basis.

With regard to change, with the exception of the VHO, change was perceived at an overt physical level e.g., personnel changing, getting a district office &c., rather than at an ideological one.

There was some indication of adaptation of work to changing circumstances, even during the time I was involved, for example the Welfare Assistant talked about elderly clients coming to visit her instead of her always going to them

> "I am trying to work it a little bit differently because of my commitments with this course, you see...I'm trying to close a lot more cases, where I would of kept them on. If they are able to get here and they're not on the 'phone, I'm now saying to them "You must come if you need to", you know, whereas before I was a bit more lenient with them..."

The overall perception of what working within Social Services meant was summed up in terms of providing solutions to problems.

It is in this whole area that the Sisters, as a group, were most noticeably different. The confirming element of their work has already been alluded to. To a much greater extent they were able to articulate why they were doing the work, and how they managed to combine the two dimensions of their life - being a Religious and working as a social worker cum nurse. At a very early stage of my involvement this question arose:-

> "In answer to a question about how she managed to combine the Religious Life and work as a nurse - she had fairly simple but sincere views that indicated a depth of thought about the matter. The question was one of priorities "Why am I here?" There had to be a balance between the two parts if you were to lead the Religious Life with any meaning and not let your work suffer."

Prayer must be at the centre of their life, they explained, and without this their work would be nothing.

Motivation was expressed in terms of Vocation and this was defined as a calling from God to do that work. They did not wish to confine the use of the word vocation to Religious, but when questioned none of thesecular workers wished to apply it to themselves. They,(i.e., the Sisters) saw themselves as having a unique role to play, one that has already been illustrated by a client, but attributed their ability to perform this role to a dedication of their whole life to the work.

> "Again being dedicated to the work, you know to the work that we do, whether its teachers or nurses or whatever. This is our life - we are able to give more time and I would say that as a voluntary organisation, we are, we take on only what we can manage. We don't...we can't take on more than we can manage because we wouldn't be able to give the service that we should to each individual."

Another Sister recognised an element of vocation, dedication in other social workers but asked

> "But would it be as much as us whose life is dedicated to God, we're doing God's work we know that, but could they say the same? I mean if...if they are doing God's work(...) but we've vowed our life to God, so therefore our work has got to be as excellent as we can possibly do it for that one reason. I'm not going to say it always is.."

Another Sister put it

> "Well, I suppose it's because we are dedicated, our lives are dedicated to the work we are doing, to God and the work we are doing in this way. And I suppose they feel that if we are dedicated, we should do our work better...as perfectly as possible."

It has been said that "Involvement in work varies according to the way work is related to other aspects of a person's life". (Beynon & Blackburn 1972, 86) and this is very clearly demonstrated in the case of the Sisters. The depth of involvement with clients has been linked before to their attentiveness to people's needs, and to their single mindedness. They had a remarkable facility for remembering details about clients they had assisted in the past, and this too is indicative of the kind of relationship that they have. The giving of one's whole life to the work will obviously require a different perception than if it is only part of one's life. The secular social worker, even if enthusiastic and absorbed in his work, usually has other interests etc., with which to occupy his mind.

A further distinction can be made in the overall attitude to work. For the Local Authority worker work was an end in itself, but for the Sisters work was only a means not an end. They saw their work in terms of 'The Regeneration of the Family', and the various services they performed for clients were only a means to that end, and itwas stressed by their Founder that this should always be borne in mind.

> "But remember, that what you do is only a means and not the aim of your vocation, and if you do not understand this you are simply charitable and devoted persons, nothing more."

This attitude, combined with the freedom of voluntary status and therefore lack of statutory obligations, led to them doing over and above job requirements. This is

not meant to indicate that the Social Service workers did not also, at times, go out of their way for clients, but only that the ideology behind the work of the Sisters supported and positively encouraged such action. This question of means and ends is much related to the different significance of money for the two groups that has already been discussed.

During the course of my interviews and meetings with the two Managers I gained a clear picture of what they saw themselves as doing, but a much hazier idea of why they were doing it, particularly at the Reception Centre. This ties in with what has just been said about the differences noticed between Sisters and Social Service staff.

For the Salvationist, he talked in terms of making a home for the men and contrasted it with the Reception Centre's provision of Emergency Accommodation.

> He saw the work as making a home for the men - and if they wanted advice providing this and spiritual help - but only if requested. He saw the Reception Centre on the other hand as providing Emergency Accommodation and if possible trying to establish a more settled way of life for some men, but obviously devoid of spiritual side."

An encouraging breadth of perspective was also evident

> "Captain P. obviously felt that developing a feeling of community was as important and significant as personal spiritual work. (Later discovered his involvement in local CAB which substantiated this belief.)"

His reminisences of working in Dublin also bore this out, along with plans to establish an over-60's club in the community.

The spiritual element had to be at the request of the man himself, although one is forced to consider the effect of other pragmatic considerations which lead the men to attend religious services and show an interest in religious matters - for example, free tea after services, wanting a job, wishing to change jobs.

When he came to discuss what made the Salvation Army continue to provide hostel accommodation when there were now both statutory and other secular alternatives, he could provide no reason.

> "I asked the Captain first why the S.A. were still providing hostels, given the fact that other agencies, including statutory ones were now provided?

To my surprise he said that he honestly didn't know! In the past they had been a shelter for men looking for work, they had provided labour exchanges and often work for the men. This was not the case now. There was Social Security coverage, in the past there had been a much better officer resident ratio - they weren't so badly off here with 4 to a potential 144, but in the London hostels for example it could be 4 to 500. He talked about them caring but said that men nowadays weren't interested in care, they just wanted cheap accommodation."

However, he was much clearer about the basis for overall motivation

> "He said that they did it (i.e., the work) because 'we care for people' - they certainly weren't in it for the money - he earned £31 per week plus a house. .... He and his wife worked long hours - he was on 7 days in a fortnight starting at 8 am. in the morning and on till 11 pm. at night (this was when the hostel closed)."

However, money did matter to him to a much greater extent that to the Sisters for he had responsibilities to his wife and children, that they didn't.

When I led him on to talk about the relationship of social work to Army doctrine, he pointed out that the Handbook of Doctrine did not lay down anything about the social work side - it seemed exclusively devoted to theology.

> "He said there was no set policy about social work. Prison gate work had been the forerunner. Bramwell Booth had been sent out by his father to do something for the men he'd seen and this was taken as the beginning of the Men's Social Services. Captain P.said that he hoped that their social work was an expression of what they believed but said that it was not laid down anywhere. Booth's In Darkest England seemed to be providing a blue print for modern State policy - it was only now that the latter were recognising the soundness of Booth's proposals."

Officers are allowed to choose to work on the field side or the social services, but once one Department "had got you" they would not easily be persuaded to let you go. You need to have a direct swop with someone going in the opposite direction!

At the Reception Centre, what the Manager said about the work was very different.

Whereas the Salvation Army Officer had to make excuses for not filling his hostel, the Reception Centre was clearly not designed to be full.

The aims of the Centre were variously described -

"They aimed to get the man back into the Welfare System and not much more - sometimes achieved more but were satisfied with first goal."

"Openly defined work of Centre as Brainwashing - they were there to brainwash and as a means of doing this could provide accommodation not the other way round."

"They are aiming to give the man the opportunity to sit back and think about himself. Discipline in the sense of an ordered life is what is missing in his life. He comes to get a roof over his head - the first thing is this."

"'Our business is counselling'"

What can we make of this series of statements? They are dealing with people who have fallen through the safety net of the Welfare State and Social Security and one of the functions of the Centre is to get them back within it. That they might be setting only limited goals is perhaps understandable given the attitude of many men who are at that level. However discipline, and order are high on the list of priorities for trying to re-establish a settled way of life. Brainwashing is perhaps a very honest description of what many agencies attempt to do to their clients - brainwash them into accepting more 'normative' ways of behaving.

The Manager's statement about counselling is more puzzling, for he was at pains to point out that they were not there to function as social workers, but as civil servants with all the attendant accountability &c. Perhaps the term counselling has become too exclusively linked with social work?

Recognition was also given to the poverty of the life - it was very institutionalized, akin to prison. This in itself could be an attraction to the man just released from prison or mental hospital.

> "There's was an establishment view - soap and water view - cleanliness next to Godliness, although in no way were they religiously oriented. No chaplains, no prayers - different from prison here."

In this particular field the Manager felt that supply creates demand - a tradition is established by someone opening a shelter or a crypt, this creates awareness and more provision is made available. Men know

they have a series of options open to them in a particular area and may choose to deliberately move to that area.

The work of the Centre is not entirely limited to face to face work with the single homeless, one major function he saw was their 'educative role' - trying to explain to other agencies what they are about.

At no point did he allude to why he was doing the work, although it was selfevident that he was a dedicated man whose experience went back to the days of relieving officers in the Casual Wards.

Summary of Relationships with the Working Environment

What then does this say about the way people perceive work differently? In what ways does the experience of work of the four groups studies differ and so affect the kind of service offered?

It is hoped that the answer to these two questions has emerged throughout the discussion, but several points could profitably be highlighted now.

The work group and the particular circumstances of your work, in terms of those who are your colleagues, your clients and the organisational structure in which you operate, have a profound significance. For those within the Local Authority, the structure while not always hindering was not seen as particularly helpful. Relationships with colleagues, although normally good, also had their limitations. These two factors then inevitably coloured the relationship one had with clients - the body of people without whom the job would not exist. On the other hand for the Sisters, the very structure of the community and their consistent life style integrated with the work they did, enabled a very different attitude towards clients to prevail. Likewise for the Reception Centre 'red tape' prevailed, sometimes to the detriment of the client. For the S.A., the position was a mixture of community support and consistent values, and just doing a job.

So too with the concept of orientation, i.e., the value and expectations that people bring to their work. For the Local Authority, and for the Reception Centre workers their values and expectations were not necessarily in line with those who employed them. Expectations were

frustrated in many ways, so diminishing job satisfaction. Work needed justifying, and was not always seen in the "confirming" light to which Raymond Williams (1968) alluded to as being central to any meaning in work. Again striking differences emerged when looking at the Religious Community. Here, values were shared, work was necessarily "confirming", and owing to the close and consistent relationship between work and other aspects of life, a greater depth of involvement with clients was possible. Again, the S.A. falls between these two positions.

But this analysis in terms of work factors and orientation, offered by Beynon and Blackburn (1972), does not go far enough. A much broader perspective is required to understand fully the perception of work held by workers within these groups, particularly the Sisters. For the Sisters, the relationship between ieology and hierarchy changed the normal meaning of hierarchical pressure. They were part too of a much wider structure, ultimately linking them with the Vatican. As such to look only at the hierarchical structure within their immediate work sphere is insufficient. Similarly, to a lesser extent, with the Social Service employees. The very reference point for making sense of work for these groups was so different that Beynon & Blackburn's influences remain inadequate. Work as an end - because you need to earn the money received for doing a particular job - is being contrasted with work as a means to an end (an end that is not made sense of in material terms) - it is unpaid yet given social recognition. If an individual Sister does not work, the repercussions are very different than if the VHO had stopped work.

However, there is a danger that this analysis could lead to the interpretation that therefore one setting is better than another. The point that I wish to stress is that they are <u>different.</u> For some clients there is no choice, as to whom they turn for help, other circumstances dictate this. For workers in the Local Authority - unless they feel they have a vocation to the Religious Life - to work in the Community setting is not open to them. The same applies to the S.A. While the Sisters as individuals could choose to work within the Statutory Services, as experience has shown them in the past, this inevitably

leads to an enforced change in their style of work. This therefore should not be seen in terms of a comparison, but only as a means of demonstrating quite forcefully the way in which perceptions of work differ and some of the reasons for this difference.

Worrying About the Job.

One aspect that kept emerging from the material collected was the experience of worry at work. Its significance for the four groups varied, but it is obviously of crucial importance when considering what work meant for those studied. As such, a separate section has been devoted to it, although inevitably some overlap in documenting this occurs.

Many facets of work experience can produce a range of emotions varying from vague anxiety to complete insecurity, and it is to these that attention is now turned. How and why did people worry about their job? or why did they not worry?

Before considering in detail the differences in workers' reactions to their work, certain characteristics of the first pair of groups need highlighting again. With the exception of one Neighbourhood Aid, all other individuals studied were female. This needs stating in order that any bias relating to divergent sexually-attributed personality traits in regard to anxiety and tension can be assessed. Also the average age range of the Local Authority workers was considerably younger than that of the Sisters, and with this age differential came a correlated increase in experience - the older the Sister, the more experience she had. The Social Service employees on the other hand had little previous social work experience - the maximum being 4 years.

A different format is employed for this section - the Sisters will be contrasted with the Social Services and then the other two groups will be dealt with in relation to each other. This is necessitated by the almost total lack of evidence that workers in the Reception Centre and the Salvation Army "worried" about their work.

(i) Social Services Employees & Sisters in Relation to Worry

(a) Political Background

One of the most striking features of the Social Service posts observed was the sense of insecurity engendered by the political climate of the time. In various ways all three jobs were being threatened. The Neighbourhood Aid post had been introduced experimentally to the Department for an initial period of six months. The scheme was thus due for re-consideration at the time of observation. Although eventually the scheme was renewed for a further six months, the manner in which this review was handled and the way in which existing Neighbourhood Aids were informed of the process provoked considerable uncertainty. Information was wrongly transmitted to workers, then withdrawn and decisions were repeatedly postponed, so that confirmation of the scheme's renewal was not available until after the workers thought the first six month period had expired. Due to different personal circumstances, the effect of this period of indecision produced contrasting reactions. The male worker was due to begin a Polytechnic Course at the end of September and was not unduly worried about the prospect of unemployment for a couple of months. On the other hand, the female Neighbourhood Aid in anticipation of the scheme finishing had secured for herself the option on a coming vacancy in DHSS (she had worked for them previously). However, on being informed that the scheme was definitely to continue, she withdrew from this vacancy only to be told that no decision had been made and she had been informed in error. She was then left with the prospect of the N.A.Scheme folding and having lost the alternative job vacancy she had had arranged. This provoked uncertainty, dissatisfaction in the way she was being treated and raised wider questions within the minds of her colleagues about job security. Extensive extracts from the field notes quoted earlier demonstrate this process very clearly (p.5.13)

In regard to the post of Welfare Assistant, the study took place when there had been a renewed attempt by Management to raise the issue of Social Work Assistants within the Department. There was considerable pressure from certain quarters to establish the post of Social Work

Assistant, recruiting from outside graduates who would then be channelled towards training. This proposal left existing welfare assistants with a particularly uncertain status. They were unhappy with their pay structure at the time - as merit rises had been stopped due to pay code restrictions. A test case was being put through NALGO - but this was turned down. It would be by no means certain that existing Welfare Assistants would get the new SWA posts, and those who did would be placed in a very unenviable position to those remaining.

> "W had been having lunch with several other W.A.s and it seems that morale is very low amongst them - they seem all to be feeling got at."

Yet one more tier in a hierarchy would have been established, and welfare assistant status would suffer. As it was, the W.A. felt that she was already doing more than the job description for SWA in other areas laid down and receiving far less money. Related to the pay structure the WA was quite clear in her perception of where the problem lay -

> "Throughout this (a discussion of salaries) she expressed the frustration that she enjoyed her work and would be quite happy if she was more fairly remunerated for the work she is doing - but all this haggling is making the job not so pleasant..."

The Voluntary help organiser too found herself wondering about the security of her job. This post had been created 18 months earlier with some opposition from Councillors. During the course of the study a meeting had been set up with one of the other VHO's (part-time) and Councillors at which considerable criticism of the way VHOs were operating was expressed. This led the VHOs to feel unsure whether political pressure would not be brought to bear to terminate the position. On several occasions the VHO had intimated that she felt a certain resemblance between her present work and that of the community workers, whose demise was within her own experience of the Department. The fact that this whole group of workers had had their posts withdrawn did not engender much optimism, therefore,

in the present struggle. The VHO was only too politically aware of what could happen, and the air of pessimism that followed the meeting of her colleague with the Councillors was perhaps well founded. The effect on her work was quite marked.

> "She had apparently openly told D (the District Manager) that she was not very interested in working flat out for a job that might shortly not exist."

In contrast to the insecurity of the very jobs that the statutory workers did, the Sisters' experience was much more secure. Security of work, accommodation and subsistence was guaranteed by the very fact of belonging to a Religious Community. Geographically, however, Sisters could not be assured of staying in any one particular place. Moves could be made quite suddenly, with little prior knowledge, but it was in this sense only that there was any insecurity. Two of the group were in fact moved during the period of my involvement. For as long as the Congregation continued to fulfil the intentions of their Founder, their work would be welcome. It was perhaps significant that conversation in my presence did not even dwell unduly on the insecurity of society at large, at a time of considerable economic decline. The hierarchical pattern of the Community also meant that any change in voluntary status that might in future occur was not felt to be the responsibility of the individual Sister. It was suggested, by one Sister, that the older ones experienced some little insecurity by the thought of change within the Community, due mainly to the rigidity of their Formation (i.e., period of training). But, at the most basic level then, the very real question of "Will my job be there tomorrow?" raised an intrinsic difference between the two groups.

Given the particular political and economic climate prevailing at this time, job insecurity is of considerable import. Jobs are becoming increasingly difficult to find and anxiety is easily aroused at the thought of possible redundancy. Anxiety is very much related to a worker's social and economic circumstances - does he/she have a family to support, what alternatives are open &c. It is here, as we have seen, that the Sisters are in a very different position.

(b) Status

The twin concepts of status and role emerge as tremendously significant when looking at the worries people have about their work. Status has been defined by Linton (1936) as "a position in a particular pattern. A status as distinct from the individual that holds it is simply a collection of rights and duties. Role is the dynamic aspect of status." Status and role reduce the ideal patterns of social life to individual terms. They form models by which individuals can organise their own behaviour. Thus "Status is the ideal pattern of conduct; role is the actual behaviour of a person which expresses that pattern." Within the work setting status is achieved (as opposed to ascribed), i.e., it is not assigned automatically due to instances of birth, age, sex, etc., but has to be achieved through competition and individual effort. This means that it is not permanent - one's status at work can be at stake. The onus is thus placed on the individual worker, or group of workers collectively, to do all in their power to maintain that status in front of colleagues, clients, outsiders and other agencies. Part of the pressure is that created by the Protestant work ethic - to work is good. To be busy is to prove one is necessary. This type of argument provides a rationale for being paid, for doing a particular job, and that it is utilised is in itself a reflection of the value system of the society in which we live. Social value appears related to ideas of production and reproduction. In this way both working women, and mothers are "valued." In a different way, the Sisters by their very style of renunciation and altruistic service avoid being categorised in these terms. They assume social value and acceptability because of what they are. If a person can only become a valued member of society by means of working (and even this may vary with the kind of work performed) then work becomes a setting in which one is constantly proving oneself. Two techniques that are employed are self-justification and dependency creation.

Self-justification is most evident at the level of interaction between colleagues in other agencies, other professionals and complete outsiders. Within the statutory setting, both the Welfare Assistant and the VHO utilised

this technique, in particular the latter. Attempts to convince the researcher that she was doing a useful job and was doing it efficiently were perhaps a logical consequence of the politically engendered insecurity that has already been alluded to. As well as being explicable in terms of organisational insecurity, psychological defence mechanisms will lead certain people to react in this way, particularly to those who they see as threatening - maybe more qualified for example - or whom they are trying to impress. If one feels under attack or in danger of being criticised it is a fairly normal human reaction to attempt to defend your position by justifying your actions. Another area in which self-justification is used is where one's behaviour is contrary to expected patterns, or where workers feel they have stepped outside the defined boundaries. Self-justification was very rare in the religious setting. The most significant occasion was when involvement with an overtly middle-class, well-placed family was justified by a re-definition of poverty to cover more than just a material base. Here the need to justify was in their own minds more than in that of the researcher.

> "I was given descriptions of more clients - including justification for one client I am to visit tomorrow who outwardly looks 'rich' but really isn't. Appeared to need to explain this because of avowed policy to work only with the poor."

The ultimate standard against which they were judging their actionswas that of their Rule of Life and not the expectations of others however.

The Rule of Life of a community is the written guide to conduct and attitude to be observed by its members. The Rule is laid down originally by the Founder, being modified rarely and only then to re-interpret the aims in line with present day experience. It is studied by those training (Novices) prior to taking their Vows, and is viewed by all as an ideal prescription for behaviour. The depth of detail varies between different Congregations but is usually in terms of principles to be applied while working and also explicit instructions relating to religious observances. The Rule is not publicly available and this presents methodological difficulties.

In relation to clients a different technique comes into play, that of dependency creation. Workers bolster up their confidence by making their clients become dependent on them. The result is they feel wanted, they appear needed to others and they justify their existence in a non-verbal way. The Welfare Assistant was perhaps the most guilty in this regard, but she in many ways had most to lose in the status game.

> "O.N. W.referred to the dependency that old people in particular build up towards her - some don't recognise visits by volunteers or the N.A.s only herself.
> T.N. She seemed to recognise that in some ways she was promoting this dependency, and she seemed to enjoy it - but I'm not quite sure how deep an insight she has into this."

The word "guilty" is deliberately employed, for the overall result in terms of the client is not desirable. Social work practice should aim to avoid dependency creation - the client is to be encouraged to make their own decisions and be responsible for their own lives to the extent to which they are capable at the point in time. (Biestek, 1961). In fairness it should however be stated that the likelihood of falling into the trap of dependency creation is heightened when dealing with the elderly. The caseload of the particular welfare assistant under study was exclusively elderly or physically handicapped. The elderly, in as much as they resemble children in their inability to look after themselves, often draw out protective tendencies from within the worker. The distinction between protecting a client and making them dependent on you is very fine. No ready examples of this spring to mind with theSisters, although they too were dealing with elderly patients for much of their time.

Another dimension of this was that the female Neighbourhood Aid displayed an inability to close cases, particularly of those elderly people that she enjoyed visiting, even when the reason for referral had been dealt with. This however appeared due to a variety of reasons, other than just status maintenance

> "Next visit to Mrs. R....X. told me on the way there that she intended to close the case and had referred her to WRVS for visits. However after a very pleasant visit with this particular old lady - who X was obviously very fond of - I was somewhat amused to hear her saying that she would call again! When I tackled her about this afterwards -

> she admitted that she found it difficult to close such cases so tended to put it off. Very understandably she is influenced by the fact of whether she enjoys visiting or not, I feel."

I was unable to assess myself the way in which the Sisters dealt with closure of cases because of the informality of their system. However, one very obvious way in which cases were closed was the death of the client, although family support could well continue if appropriate, or if the client got better.

(c) <u>Role Ambiguity</u>

Allied to the question of maintaining one's position or status, as indicated earlier, is that of role. 'Do I know what I am supposed to be doing?' 'Do I feel that others, particularly my employers, know what I am supposed to be doing?' 'Do different people expect different things of me?' Within the Social Services considerable role ambiguity was apparent. People were unsure as to what exactly they should be doing. This applied in particular to the Neighbourhood Aids, whose position was not improved by feeling that those employing them were not sure either. The impermanence of the job is alluded to in the following extract from an interview with one N.A.

> "...It's very temporary and I don't even know if the bosses above know exactly what we're supposed to be doing as such."

The question of how one related to the client also raised this issue of role. The Welfare Assistant, although recognizing that she represented an agency, tended to see her role in terms of being a friend to the elderly person. This tension was explored earlier in the Chapter. The Welfare Assistant allowed some clients to call her by her Christian name and became involved in a more personal way, e.g., making them a salad, taking them some spare wool to knit. This she felt, however, was perhaps contrary to what her employers expected of her and was anxious to play this down. She also admitted being "lenient" with them -

> "I don't think they come here to visit, I think they think of you as a friend more than anything and the visit does more than coming here does for them."

She therefore continued to visit the elderly, rather than expect them to come to her.

The VHO also defined her role both verbally and in her actions differently from that initially envisaged by the Department, it seemed. The absence of clear guidelines did not worry the VHO as much as the NA, but this is perhaps explicable in terms of maturity and experience. In many ways the VHO exploited the lack of explicit expectations. The confusion relating to role ambiguity flowed over into the area of job demarcation, but this will be treated separately.

With the Sisters again the picture was clearly very different. As Religious they held a distinctive, and for the most part highly respected social position within society. With this status, recognised by religious and non-religious alike, went well-defined role expectations. Even the expectations of the general public, though often of a somewhat stereotyped fictional nature, erred on the side of excess rather than being inaccurate.

> Interview with W.A. - she was talking about the Sisters visiting one of her clients "it was so difficult because they were having to take abuse from her, which I do every time I go and they... I didn't see why they as nuns should take abuse..."

The wearing of a habit proclaimed to all that they held this status, and as such it provided a passport into many homes, as earlier quotations have also suggested.

> Int. How else... do you think that they see you different? (i.e., from other agencies)
> Sr. I don't think they would if we hadn't a habit (slight pause) because people come up to us in the street, if we're waiting for a bus or anything, come and tell us all sorts of things but they wouldn't if I were dressed like you. (yes) And if we do ever go from the habit I think it will make a big difference, I don't know."

> Interview with Sr T.
> "There is something, I find that people, uh, people have the impression that there is something special about us. This is why I'm very much opposed to us going into secular dress because I think that the religious habit means something to people outside. We're kind of, we're people set apart if you like, you know, and I think this, this is what gives people more confidence in us you know. I may be wrong but I have that feeling.

Interestingly though, whereas the habit performed the social and psychological functions of a uniform, and so represented organisation and perhaps authority, the Sisters constantly remarked on how they were seen as the antithesis of officialdom .

Clients seemed to behave differently towards other professionals

> "They seem not to be so much at home. They seem to be a different person."
> "They're at home in their own surroundings, they're in their family, and when they receive you, if you're not an official, they receive you as one of the family. There's a mighty difference."

Like volunteers, they were going in as friends and so had less need or no need at all to worry about their status. Vis a vis other professionals most Sisters could if necessary retreat behind the mask of the professionally qualified nurse. Unlike the statutory workers, the Sisters did not have to justify their work to outside authorities, only to their own internal hierarchy who would necessarily hold similar value systems and criteria for assessing the work. This latter is not an assumption that can readily be made by basic grade field-workers in Social Services. Added to this within the religious setting there is the particular virtue of humility, that mitigates in some measure against loudly proclaiming how much work you are doing and how well you are doing it.

(d) <u>Job Demarcation</u>

This term can refer to a particular task being done only by one person or one group of people of equal status. For an organisation to operate a system of strict job demarcation, very definite boundaries have to be established and maintained. It can also refer to the degree to which one task blends into another, or conversely whether there is a rigid distinction between one job and another. Within the Social Services who did what, who decided who did what, and the discrepancy between official theory and actual practice proved a considerable source of worry and anxiety.

Many references were made in the statutory setting to the fact that work was being done that was not officially viewed as appropriate for that particular category of staff.

> Interview with W.A."I'd always right from when I'd started done the new elderly. I think dealing with them in the hospital ... I fitted in straight away somehow, and I always did right from the beginning do the initial referrals, which officially the welfare assistants weren't supposed to do."

Normally if a worker steps outside the bounds of his job description, this is a potential source of worry to him. However, an element of protection was introduced within the District Office, by the immediate Senior being fully aware of what each person was doing. There was thus an element of collusion by at least the lower members of the management hierarchy which meant that responsibility rested on them. It cannot be discounted however that at the time of the study, there was an increasing sense of wariness within Social Services Departments in general as a result of recent pillorying in the press of social workers who had been involved in cases which had gone 'wrong'. The question of whether these were justified does not affect the anxiety that such events can produce.

It appeared within Social Services that a gradual progression had occurred, volunteers and Neighbourhood Aids were doing what Welfare Assistants had originally been envisaged as doing, and Welfare Assistants were doing part of what social workers had been expected to do. As the focus of the study was on non-qualified staff the effect on social worker's patterns of work was not investigated. One can presume however that any lessening of the burden or pressure of cases would be welcomed, unless it was taken to reflect a blurring of status distinction. Mention of status leads back to the problem raised earlier, how is status maintainedor re-inforced?

One method is the division of work into categories of low and high priority. Low priority cases are then assigned to lower status workers. This was most apparent in the fact that the Welfare Assistant handled nearly all elderly referrals and cases. This was stressed earlier. Although initial referrals were officially to be investigated by social workers, as quoted previously, there was no inherent threat to their status in allowing the Welfare Assistant to do it. One somewhat inconsistent area was that of the mentally handicapped - this too is an acknowledged low priority area - but these cases were not numbered amongst those of the Welfare Assistant.

Individual workers appeared to establish their own limitations as to what they were or were not prepared to do, on the basis of a personal definition of competence.

> Interview with N.A.(X) talking about work with children and youngsters "...I don't like doing that kind of work because I'm very nervous with kids just a few years younger than me. I don't think I'd be able to handle it at all."

The Welfare Assistant also instanced that whereas she was happy to go unaccompanied to Case Conferences re elderly admissions (though this was not official policy) she did draw the line at those involving problems of mental health. For the most part this did not result in tension, with the exception of the VHO who bitterly resented that certain tasks, which she saw as within both her province and competence, were not permitted. This was instanced by the fact that it was held that only social workers were to be allowed to do the final social work assessment of a volunteer's suitability for a new Uncle and Aunt Scheme in the Children's Homes, in which she was involved. This raises the whole question of qualification, training and professional v. non-professional, to which attention will be given later.

Acceptability of work, in some way, also seemed to depend upon the source rather than the type of task. This is highlighted by one of the Neighbourhood Aids complaining about tasks allocated to her by the VHO, on the basis of who allocated rather than what was allocated.(p.5.15)

The two aspects of job demarcation referred to initially are clearly demonstrated within the other setting, but in the negative form. The work of the Sisters was characterised by an almost complete lack of job demarcation. In regard to the first aspect, Sisters shared cases to a far greater degree than within the statutory setting. Although Sisters were responsible for their own cases in one sense,no difficulties arose when circumstances prevented them going and another Sister replaced them. There was no distinction in this regard made between the Superior and the other Sisters either. Nor did any sense of hierarchy prevent household tasks being done by whoever was able. A lack of possessiveness was thus cultivated, the Sister going in the name of the Community rather than in her own name, as we saw earlier. For pragmatic reasons one Sister would be responsible for a case, even though others might at various times be involved.

The second aspect, a rigid distinction between tasks, also is striking in its absence. The Sisters responded to needs as they saw them and were not concerned with maintaining boundaries between one task and another. In this sense they were not task oriented, they were there to provide an all-round service, a facet which contributed to their uniqueness and which was readily recognised by clients. Remember the client quoted earlier:-

> "It later emerged that this lady refused all offers of home helps, and meals on wheels, etc., and said that all she wanted was the Sisters, She said that "They are everything in one"- who else would clean, shop, cook, nurse etc. - indeed she had a point!"

The blending of one job into another was a measure of their flexibility, attitude to their work and to some degree presupposed certain skills and aptitudes. Overall the Sisters were less disturbed by complete disruption of their work load, for example necessitated by night duty with a dying patient, as these were accepted as part of their work. This is not to negate the physical problems that resulted, shortage of manpower, re-arrangement of schedules &c.

> T.N."Again the complete change in pattern of work was observed - they have to be quite flexible to deal with crises of this nature. This point emerged in a slightly different way in the afternoon when as a result of finding that one woman had gone to hospital we changed our plans and went to visit her and then went on to someone else - all over the place. The Superior had initially started to apologise for this to me, on our return, but then had gone on to say that that was what their work was like."

Similar massive upheavals proved more of a source of irritation to the statutory workers, however.

> "Both W and X talked about how difficult it was to predict their day's work. W when she first started had planned regular visits but found that something else always cropped up and she was left trying to fit in missed visits until the situation became absolutely impossible."

(e) <u>Professional v. Non-Professional</u>

Certain very real worries can stem from working in a setting where the professional, the qualified and the trained are esteemed, and you fall outside these categories. The professional association of social workers, BASW, itself has attempted until recently to

preserve a system of elitism by exclusion of non-qualified workers from full membership, and although this is not reflected in the attitudes of all Local Authority Social Workers this ethos remains pervasive. The two people most affected within the Department were the Welfare Assistant and the VHO - neither were qualified and this engendered quite strong feelings on their part. Inextricably bound up with the question of qualification is of course the question of pay - qualification brings with it new pay scales. If you are doing work that officially is reserved for those who are qualified but you are only being paid the lower scale - resentment is not unnatural. With regard to the Welfare Assistant, this point has already been documented. The Neighbourhood Aids were in a different position, being younger and with less commitments, they had reason to be more satisfied with their wages, especially as they were recruited from amongst the ranks of the unemployed and all that that particular status implies financially. Money, as has already beenpointed out, has a very different significance for this group.

The Neighbourhood Aids made reference to being untrained, but in the case of one, training was seen in a more negative light of dampening spontaneity and friendliness to clients.

> Interview with X - in a discussion about the difference between voluntary and statutory work she talked about people being taught how to say things to people "...because I haven't had any education in that way, so I just talk to them just like another human being and I think in a way with all this training - I know in some ways it must be good - in other ways it's a bit frightening to people because they've drilled into them what procedures to go through first of all etc. etc., and sometimes it can even be drilled into them what words to use to people. With voluntary work they've got no training just the same as me - so perhaps it's more friendly to them."

The Welfare Assistant and VHO were not overly impressed by In Service Training Sessions either.

Yet another contrast to the Sisters' position. Although professional nurses, their social work functions were performed in the context of a voluntary organisation, and with the exception of the Superior none were social

work trained. They did not see themselves as performing the role of professional social workers, although undoubtedly they were doing social work. This point has already been mentioned in another context.

Their voluntary status provided them with a freedom of action that was highly valued, and to many of them, integral to their style and purpose of work. They did not feel within their own Community the pressure to become qualified, although this was a trend that was being observed amongst younger members within the Congregation.

(f) Support System

Linked to the threat of being an un-qualified, untrained and therefore low status employee in Social Services, is the question of how you deal with the pressure intrinsic in any work which involves direct contact with people and their problems. What support is available? How is this support perceived?

Supervision throughout the office appeared fairly informal, a worker would ask for it if they required or wanted it. Although there was some degree of checking that was observable in terms of closing cases and submitting reports, in the case of the Welfare Assistant, support or advice in most instances had to be sought. The female Neighbourhood Aid, who worked closely with the Welfare Assistant, turned automatically to the latter when she needed help. The other Aid seemed to ask for specific advice from any worker who was involved, and he too tended to work closely with one of the unqualified social workers in the office. Due to the latter's absence during much of the period of observation this interaction was not documented. In general theoffice formed a supportive team, but as always when most people are under pressure in one form or another, individual worries and concerns could be lost.

> Interview with N.A.(Y) "So what we do is go to different people who are referred to our Department ....and try and find out what the problems are and try to solve them. And if I can't do that then I come back and go to my Senior and he would help me then."

The very motivation for doing the work can provide some support in difficult situations, placing events in a wider context for example. By and large this form of

support was not evident amongst the individual workers within the Statutory setting, but typified the situation amongst the Sisters.

Added to their own religious beliefs, which could make difficult work situations bearable, there was a close support system provided in the other members of the Community. Problems and worries were shared and it was acknowledged that this sharing was vital.

For example on returning to the Convent after a very difficult visit - "Sr A admitted to the very draining nature of such a visit and the need to come back and have a joke and a laugh with the others. They recognise the need to share events of the day when they come in - something I have personally experienced too - and whenI queried whether this was difficult as the others presumably had the same needs, she said that they did try to make time for this."

One Sister also explained the system of accounting, whereby particularly Novices and young Sisters were encouraged to account, to their Superiors, for what had happened at the patients' homes.

> "Because when you're young you're always anxious and worried in case you've said the wrong thing or you've done the wrong thing; you haven't said the right thing and you haven't done what you should have done, you know. And we were helped very much in that way (...) So that you were at peace."

The sense of vocation, of being called to do this particular work, combined with a sharing of the load reduces enormously the impact of worrying about one's job and one's clients,as we have seen.

(g) <u>Worrying About Clients</u>

Much of the discussion so far has focussed on the worries of the job in terms of the impact on the workers themselves, but one can also single out a group of anxieties stemming from the actual interaction with clients. Are the clients getting the best service? How responsible should I feel for what they do? Am I able to leave my clients' worries at work or do I take them home with me? These are all very relevant questions.

Reference has already been made to the anxiety provoked by the thought of things going wrong, of something happening to one's clients. The level of this worry is in many ways determined by the confidence and security

of the worker, whether he feels he has the support of colleagues and superiors and also the kind of personality he possesses. (Dependency creation and its attendant dangers has already been explored). Although child abuse is one of the most sensitive areas in this regard, the elderly too are very much at risk. It appeared however that the Sisters were more conscious of their responsibility in terms of checking to see if the old person living alone was still alive, even though this thought was also implicit in much of the routine visiting undertaken by N.A.s and Welfare Assistant. Much of this expressed anxiety stemmed perhaps from past personal experience, and there was an unusually high degree of responsibility and accountability voiced. (Remember the incident recounted in Ch4. (p.4.52) in Attitudes to Death and Dying).

In terms of the quality of service to clients, there was a greater measure of control exerted by the Sisters to see that their workload did not exceed the point at which they could offer a good service to the client. This was the explicit instruction of their Founder, and lacking statutory responsibility they were not co-erced to the same extent as Social Services.

> He admonished them not to overburden themselves with patients in the following words:-
> "You cannot answer all the patients' demands.
> Only take on work in proportion with your strength.
> God will do the rest."

Despite this, a certain amount of guilt at turning away cases was revealed by the Community, and I suspect that they minimised the times when this occurred. They only acknowledged that six cases had been refused during 1975 and 1976. These were referred to other agencies.

Material to support this was difficult to obtain however, given the nature of the way in which referrals were handled. This was far less formalised than in Social Services, as one might expect, people ringing up with requests, writing to the Sisters and calling on behalf of others, but with no subsequent form filling to accompany these, unless the client was taken on. Information regarding numbers of referrals and their sources was collated for me by one of the Sisters, but I did not have free access to their card record system, or their case register. The latter listed current cases by year in two categories - general nursing and social

visiting. This would have been permitted by the Superior I felt, but was opposed on the grounds of confidentiality by another Sister. (This also reveals something about the power relationship within the Community).

> "When I asked if they kept records - Sr A said "Yes, but they are private""

Direct questions regarding cases refused produced very small numbers as indicated above. This obviously could not be verified as could referrals within Social Services which were always recorded on forms whether followed up or not.

(h) Conclusions

The differences that have emerged in this attempt to contrast worker's reactions to worrying about their jobs, in two settings, have revealed an intrinsic distinction. In general terms this can be expressed in the minimisation of worry and anxiety amongst the Sisters about their work. Some of the reasons why this is so have been implicit in the discussion so far but could bear further scrutiny now.

The Community free from the pressure of political battles is more secure. The Sisters will always have their basic needs taken care of for as long as they remain within the Congregation. Unless Religious are persecuted and forbidden to work, then an outlet for their service to society will always be there.Given the structure and philosophy of their life style they are also relieved of the pressure that competition and struggle for promotion brings. They have a certain status within the wider community, but have no need to re-inforce or maintain that status amongst their fellow Sisters, of for that matter society. This is mainly due to it being ascribed rather than achieved. Role expectations are consistent and unambiguous for the most part. Owing to their lack of possessiveness and their flexibility and sharing of cases, pressure from this direction is also minimised. Their very vocation provides support to counter any anxiety that does arise and there is an accessible and built in support system within the concept of the Religious Life. The burden of responsibility is shared not only with others, but a belief in the overall sovereignity of God places individual problems within a wider perspective. Spiritual

help is seen as a powerful factor within life, a source of comfort when there is worry. There is a conviction that 'I am right to be doing this work', that comes from the already alluded to sense of vocation. Problems are not faced alone, but as a member of a collective body.

Does this mean that statutory social work is therefore doomed to failure? No, but it would certainly seem to indicate that social workers at all levels, but perhaps particularly those at the non-qualified level, are subjected to considerably more anxiety and pressure within their work situation. Coupled with this, the means of relieving such pressure is not always available. The resolution of internal policy arguments, clearer role expectations, less unnecessary status differentiation would go a considerable way to improving the plight of Local Authority workers. But many of the sources of worry are so embedded in the organisational structure and ideology of the statutory sector that easy solutions are impossible.

Again it must be stressed that the two groups are not interchangeable. They are different, but the implication that one is better than the other is an untenable conclusion.

(ii) <u>The Reception Centre and Salvation Army Hostel in Relation to Worry</u>

As indicated earlier a completely different situation pertains to workers in these two organisations as regards worry at work. The data collected revealed almost no instances of the kind of material dealt with in relation to the other two settings. Why? Was it that I had failed to tap such material, that the research design was inadequate? Or was it that worrying about the job was absent for more structural, philosophical or historical reasons? I will argue that it was the latter.

The heritage which overlays all work with the single homeless today, but particularly that in the statutory sector, is the effect of the Poor Law and consequently the kind of relationship to clients that the Law engendered. At its most basic level this can be stated as - if you were dealing with 'the lowest of the low', people who had no rights or were seen by society

to have forfeited these, then one just applied the rules and did not have to worry about individual consequences for they were not worth worrying about. Now obviously Christian teaching would wish to dispute this, but within certain theologies can be found the idea that people can put themselves beyond redemption. And hence a somewhat judgmental attitude can prevail. These ideas are given substance in the categories of 'deserving' and 'undeserving poor' that has bedevilled the history of social work for so long.

The emphasis is on a unitary approach. Logically what follows reduces the area in which worry can arise. There is little political contention about how the single homeless should be treated, so worry on this count is not present at the Reception Centre. They are just applying little contested government policy. For the local Salvation Army officer politics are forbidden, and left to international level (cf the recent debate about funds to liberation armies from the W.C.C).

In both organisations there is a hierarchical organisation, which provides a structured organisation within which there is little role ambiguity or status problems. In addition the Army is governed by a tight ideology which prevents overt status seeking.

Job demarcation is governed by a sharp civil service bureaucracy, which does not permit the latitude observed within social services, within the Reception Centre. For the Army Officer, there are few rungs on the ladder and these are widely separated - the occupants often being geographically distant.

Professional versus non-professional issues just do not apply - for the Centre's staff are for the most part civil servants, and for the hostel, they are in a field where few professional social workers operate at all.

If you are not worrying about the job, the necessity of a support system that has been so heavily stressed with the Sisters becomes redundant.

Finally, we return to the initial point made about the historical background of the Poor Law - you do not worry about clients who in many instances have been 'de-humanised'. 'Anything is good enough for them' becomes the prevailing philosophy if you are not careful, and it needs the persistent work of organisations like CHAR to combat this.

Coda

"Few things exert a greater influence upon people's lives than the work they do"

(Beynon & Blackburn 1972, 1)

This was no less true for the groups I studied, although its influence was very different, as we have seen. Given this importance the chapter has been structured around the theme of work, and not as might have been expected initially around the religious-secular distinction implied within the groups' very selection. As I suggested in the last chapter, this implicit hypothesis has not been proved to be as central to the thesis as it might have been . Those studied were workers, bringing with them very different perceptions of work, seen very differently by their clients and operating within very different organisational structures. Hence the themes of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER SIX : SOCIAL SERVICE WORK AND CLIENT GROUPS

Before turning to the actual content of the chapter, it is necessary to look first at the form which it takes. This form is somewhat different from other chapters containing empirical material, for a different methodology was employed. I was not actually researching 'clients' per se. However, it would be both impossible and nonsensical to write about social work experience without some reference to the very clients that make the work exist. But, the methods by which the data was gained were inevitably different.

What follows in regard to client's perceptions of the various agencies and their experience of being helped by them is constructed from the data, rather than based on direct client statements to the researcher. Other material is based on my observations of worker/client relationships, but the clients themselves were not interviewed.

I was primarily interested in the experience of the clients rather than with their individual characteristics, as is often the case, although inevitably some details are necessary background information, It was the client's experience of the work that was significant.

As a result, there is less empirical information, and thus less quoted material than in other chapters. Also, much of the documentation related to this chapter has already been given in Chapter Five, and has not been repeated. The very structure of chapter Six too, is more formal given the very nature of the material.

Nevertheless a clear image does emerge of the differences that a variation in regime makes for the recipient, and therefore potentially why clients may chose one source of help in preference to another.

Who Were the Clients?

The clients of those workers who were observed fell into two distinct categories. As we began to see in Chapter 5, Social Service employees and the Sisters were concerned primarily with 'welfare' clients, i.e., the elderly, chronically sick and disabled people - although necessarily there were a few exceptions in the form of problem families who occasionally formed part of their

caseloads. The term 'social care' client group, coined by Alan Tredinnick (1977) is perhaps also apposite here, On the other hand, the Reception Centre and the S.A. Hostel were involved with the single homeless.

Theoretically clients could choose equally between their respective alternatives, and it is only at the level of experience that any further division can be made within these client groupings. As it is hoped to demonstrate, the different regimes for handling clients did in fact mean that a potential client often made a conscious decision about which group of workers to approach for help. However this second level distinction does not invalidate the basic division into the two categories mentioned above.

Before looking in some detail at the different experiences that clients had of the various agencies, it is useful to look more closely at the terminology involved. What exactly do the terms elderly, chronically sick, disabled or handicapped mean?

The <u>elderly</u> is obviously a chronologically determined grouping of those who have reached a certain age, usually marked by the accepted retirement age and eligibility for old age pension, i.e., 60 for women and 65 for men. I propose to accept the somewhat loosely defined term of elderly as used in everyday language and to avoid lengthy discussions of precise boundaries. The Local Authority is expected to maintain At Risk registers to cover those elderly who are seen to be particularly vulnerable. Likewise, since the 1970 Chronically Sick and Disabled Act Registers should also be maintained in respect of these categories.

<u>Chronic Illness</u> can be defined as "a long period of illness which may persist constantly or at intervals for years" (O.U.Cumulative Glossary for P853.p4).

Chronic illness is often accompanied by some degree of handicap. One thinks of patients suffering from, for instance, cancer, heart and kidney disease.

Attempting to define the term "<u>disabled</u>" or "<u>handicapped person</u>" poses obvious problems. The terms are sometimes considered interchangeable and at other times different meanings are intended to be conveyed. Again for the purposes of this thesis no precise definition is necessary. The agencies involved do not discriminate on

the basis of technical differences in degree of disability as to whether they help or not, thus the common sense meaning of loss or reduction of functional ability is adequate.

Who are the <u>single homeless?</u> With the term "single homeless" one runs the risk of implying much more than was intended. The word has become synonymous with that of "vagrant", "dosser", "tramp" etc., with all their pejorative connotations. All I wish to imply is that these are people, men in this instance, who are on their own, without a home. It does not necessarily mean, for example, that families do not exist - they may just be separated for one reason or another. The term is somewhat ironically used to refer to men who frequent a certain type of accommodation, ranging from Night Shelters to some form of hostel or lodging house. Any value judgment about such men and their particular style of life is not suggested. Having stated this caveat, however, the very agencies under consideration are in fact in danger of doing just that, reading more into the term than is there. Both Kilgallon (1976) and Stewart (1975) stress this point.

<u>Clients' Experiences of Social Service</u> -

(i) <u>Administered by the Social Services Department non-qualified staff and the Sisters.</u>

As with the other client grouping of single homeless, one is here looking at the different experience of receiving help from a statutory or a voluntary source. In order to highlight the dis-similarities as well as the similiarities it is helpful to consider clients' experiences under certain headings.

(a) <u>Organisational Element.</u>

Looking at the client at the time when he or she initially seeks help, certain structural differences are clearly noticeable. Inevitably within the Social Services Department the client becomes involved in a formal structure, where referrals are processed through bureaucratic channels and access is generally limited to office hours (with the exception of emergency out of hours referrals operated by social workers). The client normally presents himself to an office, or in the case of sick and housebound is visited by "an official". Although workers

went to great lengths to minimise the aura of officialdom with which they were associated, from the clients' point of view they remained a figure of authority. This feature was remarked upon to the Sisters, whose clients felt were more to be seen as 'friends'. Linked to this basic difference in the perception of workers as either official or not, was the amount of time that was devoted to each client. Clients again commented to Sisters that they felt the Sisters spent more time with them - and this indeed did appear to be a reality, readily explained by different caseloads and functions from statutory staff (be they medical or social work).

One Sister described the reaction of clients

> "some will say 'Oh the District Nurse came in and went out, and that's all, they're so busy, you know', but the point is I've always said to them my sister was a district nurse and she said to me 'There are sometimes I could cry, go away nearly crying because there's so much I want to do there and I can't do it.' So I tell them this and say that the reason for that is that they've got about 20 patients to do and I've only got one, you see, they see the point. (Int. That time is a very vital thing when you're on the receiving end). Yes, it is, and also you see if social workers and district nurses could acquire the knack of being able to make that person think that they're the only ones, this is a knack I've heard people saying priests have it. I don't know whether I have it, I don't know whether other people have it but I need to have it sometimes in the work that I am doing. If you can really, to yourself, say well I must give this person my whole attention just for this short time I can be with them and they begin to ..... they'll say quite often afterwards 'You'd think I'm the only one that Sister had to ...or that person had to ..(Yes) but it's the most difficult thing on earth but it's worth while trying to, uhm (yes) get it, because I think that then they're quite satisfied because you gave them all your attention."

This quotation provides an excellent example of why I wrote this particular chapter. It provides the reader with the 'flavour' of the work that the Sisters were doing from the client's point of view or experience. In many ways it is surprising that it should not have appeared earlier, for as data it is of highly significant. In looking at the experience of doing social work within various agencies, I could not neglect this very crucial area of the experience of those who were to be its recipients. From their perspective, this issue of time, for example, could make all the difference in the quality

of the interaction, and as such was important to the understanding of social work that I was seeking.

To return to the client's first approach to the agency, When contacting the Sisters he or she was not confronted by much formality. The Sisters were not constrained by office hours and were therefore more accessible and available - people being able to contact them throughout the 24 hours should they wish. Although Sisters were allocated to certain clients there was a greater flexibility as we saw in Chapter 5, in Sisters being able to replace each other should a need arise. This was far more complicated within the Social Service setting. Another feature that resulted in different experiences for the clients was the all-in-one service of the Sisters, which meant that one worker dealt with a range of service needs and was not bound to a task oriented structure - the case with the statutory group.

Finally on an organisational note, the client was often subjected to a high changeover of staff within the Social Services. This necessarily has an impact on relationships between client and worker - either of the nature "Do I know her well enough to confide?" or "Is it worth explaining the whole situation yet again, when she'll probably be leaving soon?" In fact the Welfare Assistant observed was somewhat a-typical in the fact that she had been in post for over 3 years. Client continuity with the Sisters was very different, partly because Sisters did not move so frequently, and partly because there was a continuity of relationship with the Community even if individual Sisters did change. This continuity was noticeable over generations within a family.

(b) <u>Motivation</u>

It could perhaps be argued that why a person is doing a particular job is immaterial to the kind of service provided to clients. However, I would strongly disagree. A worker's motivation affects their view of work, and the way they make sense of their experience of work. This in turn will be reflected in their attitudes to clients.

For the statutory employees, they were paid to do a job. This was a means of earning a livelihood, and this understandably was of paramount importance. This is not to ignore the genuine warmth and attraction towards the work that they had, but only to put it in perspective.

Although it is dangerous to assume a greater virtue in doing something for nothing,this seemed to be what clients did do. The Sisters were providing a free service and clients were well aware that they did not receive money for such work, apart from their 'collective'. It was also the sense of vocation - the total dedication of their life to the work - that was experienced by clients of the Community. This concept of vocation has already been explored in Chapter Four, but it remains necessary to return to the issue again in relation to the client's experience.

Berger in an article "The Human Shape of Work", argues that part of the 'problem of work', i.e., in terms of the question of meaning, is due to the development of the increasing secularization of the concept of vocation. This is obviously an ideological development. To understand what Berger is saying I propose to quote quite extensively from the article.

> "Weber showed convincingly how, especially through the agency of Protestantism, the medieval concept of religious vocation was transformed into the modern concept of secular work as a vocation, that is, as action requiring the individual's highest religious and ethical commitments. Even those critical of Weber's theory will concede that work in the beginnings of modern Western history has come to acquire a meaning quite different from the one it had in previous periods and in other civilizations - not only a religious duty to be faithfully performed, not only an activity endowed with weighty ethical pre- and pro-scriptions (such as, say, the dharma of Hindu caste) - but a 'calling', in the sense of demanding from the individual a total and passionate commitment, channeling his entire life for the achievement of high goals and thus bestowing high meaning on this life. Needless to say, this attitude toward work must be seen in relation to the immense energy that modern Western man has invested in economic and

technological activity, an energy (what Weber called the power of 'inner-worldly asceticism') that lies at the mainspring of both modern capitalism and modern industrialism. Now, although few individuals today approach their vocation as a task undertaken 'to the greater glory of God', the conception of work as the bearer of high ethical and personal meanings has persisted. In other words, the concept of vocation persists in a secularized form, maximally in the continued notion that work will provide the ultimate 'fulfilment' of the individual's life, and minimally in the expectation that, in some shape or form, work will have some meaning for him personally."

Although in theory one could perhaps agree with such an argument, this particular study appears to demonstrate that in practice it is not so tenable. In regard to the Sisters there is no difficulty; they are operating within the confines of a traditional theory of religious vocation - both 'vocation' to the Religious Life and 'vocation' in terms of their particular work which is done "to the greater glory of God". The difficulty resides in the other group. If one talks of a 'secularized concept of vocation' it seems to imply that the religious concept of vocation continues to exist, albeit in a somewhat altered form. When you examine more closely the two forms in which Berger argues that it exists - these seem to imply not just a change of form but of total change. For the workers within Social Services, when specifically questioned about vocation, no-one identified themselves with the concept. In fact, one confused the term with 'vacation'. Not only was this so, but they failed to verbalise any feelings to do with work 'fulfilment' or the sense of work having some meaning for them personally. For them work was a means of livelihood - a purely pragmatic relationship was involved, and as discussed in the other chapter the different perception of work does affect the service to clients.

For the Sisters, they worked from the strength of knowing that they did not have to rely solely on their own efforts. They expressed this by saying "The Holy Spirit is always with you" or "We were going out to the people, taking the Lord with us,and it was He who was working through us". "With that you feel strong to go on." Their strength came from a life rooted firmly in prayer and "a deeply spiritual life", and it was this that the client's appeared to sense.

(c) Relationships

Clients obviously enjoyed a different relationship with each set of workers. The Sisters were seen as friends because of their very organisation - the Community ethos of an extended family. The Social Services employees had to work hard to dispel the 'taint' of authority and officialdom and to attempt to become friends, in spite of the organisation. The lower down the hierarchy they were, the less of a problem this was- i.e., for the Neighbourhood Aids, both their youth and lack of responsibility enabled a more informal approach to be adopted.

Clients, too, appeared to perceive the relationship with both agencies differently in terms of confidentiality. Somewhat irrationally they seemed to feel more secure in sharing confidential information with the Sisters, than with the Social Services. However, it should be borne in mind that the only real evidence to support such a claim is derived from the reported comments of clients to Sisters. One might suppose that such security was derived from an extension of the priestly Seal of Confession to encompass all Religious, but this feeling was not restricted to Catholic clients alone.

Any criticism of over-involvement or dependency creation with regard to clients/patients did not emerge during observation of the Sisters. This may have been due to the all-embracing nature of the way the latter functioned when helping people. They were involved to a much greater degree in the <u>whole</u> life of the client, but not over-involved, because of the strong Community identification and commitment that was always present. If needs necessitated them staying all day and all night with patients, as was sometimes the case, this was accepted as part of their work not an extra. Although it was difficult to document the closure of cases with the Sisters, as I did not have access to their discussions, the impression gained was that they did not continue involvement beyond what was necessary. This was a far cry from the position in Social Services. Both Welfare Assistant and Neighbourhood Aid displayed some reluctance to terminate cases, unless pressurized by superiors to do so. There was also an attitude of leniency -

instanced by the Welfare Assistant preferring to visit clients instead of expecting them to come to her - that did not appear to arise in the other setting.

Again it should be stressed that the significant differences emerging between the two agencies' services to clients lie in the area of the <u>client's perception</u> of their relationship to workers. For instance though there was some evidence of a rather paternalistic approach with some workers from both settings, the clients appeared more able to accept this from the Sisters than from the State workers. Perhaps this is related to people's expectations of the Church in general.

(d) <u>Emotional/Spiritual Element</u>

One final element that requires consideration is the emotional and spiritual content of the clients' experience. Clearly there was a much valued spiritual content in clients' contact with the Community - unrelated in many instances to their actual religious allegiance or lack of it. Overt references to religion were very much in evidence when visiting clients - such as proposed visits to Lourdes, confirmation of children in the family, and references to priests' visits - however, these were always at the instigation or with the prior permission of the clients. It is not at all meant to infer any prosleytising activity on the part of the Sisters. One specific role which they did fulfil was that of praying with dying patients - not only was this expected and desired of them, but they were given such opportunities in a way which would not be open to Social Service employees, whose tasks obviously did not cover nursing dying patients. I have already dealt with attitudes to death and dying in Chapter 4.

This spiritual content, which was understandably absent within the State setting, meant that certain clients preferred the ministrations of the Sisters - there was so to speak "an added bonus".

Linked to this respect for spirituality, even if not totally recognised by clients, there was the significance of the habit. This very obviously gave them an 'open sesame' at most doors. These particular Sisters were very much in favour of retaining a distinctive habit,

as a clear witness of their dedication to God, and a factor which they saw as aiding their work. This is not a view shared by all Communities by any means - (Cf the article in The New Nuns entitled 'Nuns in Ordinary Clothes (Reidy, 1968). The sociology - psychology of clothes, too, was dealt with in Chapter 4.. There was obviously no comparable recognisable uniform for the Social Services, although ironically it was the latter who were seen as more linked with authority.

Whereas the Welfare Assistant was completely thrown by the undemanding client, who patiently suffered hardship and inconvenience, the spiritual ethic of suffering patiently meant that the Sisters did not find this attitude so surprising. It was something to be both encouraged and applauded.

> "Our own visit was an extremely handicapped lady who is moving to Birmingham and wished to check about the aids and adaptations and the telephone she had got through Social Services.(.....) It turned out the lady had worked as a missionary in India for over 20 years only returning in 1972 to care for her elderly mother. Once the business side of things had been dealt with, over a cup of tea I encouraged her to talk about this. She had an implicit faith in God and that he would provide all our needs - not wants. She obviously believed this absolutely and she did not have the some-what off-putting directness of sentimentality about it that some do. W, recounted her first impression when she had visited the family when her mother was alive. She had been horrified to find that they were not claiming any Social Security at all - fortunately this was easily remedied, but this client was one of the most undemanding that I've met, and anxious that she did not have more than her rights."

Finally, a more general point can be made, which relates to several of the aspects already alluded to. The Sisters were structurally, motivationally, emotionally and in their kind of relationships, able to provide closer coverage for clients than the Social Services. Again this is a persuasive factor in influencing clients to seek help from one agency rather than another.

(ii) Administered by the Government Reception Centre and the Salvation Army Hostel.

Once again the differential experience of clients of these two agencies will be considered under several headings. However it is appropriate to point out that due to the residential/institutional aspects of the care offered, structural or physical considerations are even more central.

(a) Organisational/Structural Element.

Physically there is some similarity in provision by both groups in the sense that both are situated in new buildings. The Reception Centre (itself 5 years old) is of an experimental design that has attracted both social work and architectural interest. It is difficult to assess the impact on the men, but its very newness could be inhibiting for the man used to sleeping rough.

This element of newness is even more apparent in the Salvation Army Hostel. This was erected a year ago to replace two old hostels, whose conditions were admittedly very poor. However, like the Reception Centre, the very newness and "posh" nature of the building, somewhat belied the intention of providing basic provision for single homeless men. This should not be taken to imply that anything is good enough for these men, but that with such improved physical conditions there are normally associated stricter disciplinary constraints on what residents may and may not do. Workers in other provisions for these men claimed that the men were deterred by the '3 star image'.

If one begins with the admission procedures, straight away significant differences in regime emerge. There are a barrage of formal questions and form filling to be negotiated at the Reception Centre before the man gains entry. This deterrent is even more reinforced by the necessity of agreeing to a compulsory bath and inspection of clothes and to performing a work task the next day. Such procedures are laid down by Act of Parliament, and in fairness to the particular Reception Centre observed, no additional clauses were added to the already existing regulations, as is often the case.

The man applying to the Salvation Army Hostel fairs better. He is interviewed by one of the officers, of which there are two in the particular hostel observed, but no physical examinations follow. Although the man may be refused entry according to the personal rules of the Manager, he is not caught as much by a necessity to prove an "unsettled way of life" as he is at the Reception Centre. At the Salvation Army Hostel, money could prove the bar or, to be more accurate, lack of it. There was some confusion on this point - the Manager claimed that people were given accommodation and referred to the Social

Security office the next day for vouchers if they had no money, however workers in other agencies said that men had been refused when having neither voucher nor money, until this could be rectified, usually the next day.

For both institutions sanctions were few - ultimately the only effective and realistic sanction was that of barring future entry to the place. In policies concerning this the two institutions differed. The Reception Centre, (who did in fact possess legal sanctions in the shape of prosecution for false obtaining of Social Security funds), although known to refuse entry, did not bar people as such, or at least very rarely. According to the Manager, prosecutions were avoided and thus rare. The threat that future admission would be refused was most often applied. On the other hand, the Salvation Army did implement a policy of barring "unsuitable" men, and also of withdrawing privileges - the latter being either in the shape of allocation of private rooms or staff positions. But when one considers these sanctions (with the exception of legal ones) they have little deterrent value for a group of men who most frequently get themselves barred whilst or because they are under the influence of drink, when their behaviour is beyond their control.

Reference to the allocation of private rooms prompts one to examine the actual physical sleeping arrangements and eating facilities of the men.The accent at the Reception Centre was very much on attending to the men's creature comforts - then, trying to establish a more settled way of life. Accommodation was in the form of sectioned off cubicles that have been likened by some to 'horseboxes'. They did offer relative privacy but at the same time were readily supervisable. The men it appeared were provided with pyjamas and a lock-up chest or wardrobe. Unlike the policy of most Reception Centres there was not a hierarchy of comfort through which a man could graduate. The beds on all three floors were of equal dimensions with similar mattresses - the only privilege was in the shape of purpose built corner wardrobes which were gradually replacing the chests, and were allocated to men who were long term residents. Food was available canteen style on the premises, and the diet appeared good and quite varied. The emphasis was on nutrition.

Looking now at the provision within the voluntary hostel - accommodation was of two kinds, dormitory (consisting of 8 beds) and private rooms, of which there were 45. As the total bed capacity of the place was 144, dormitory provision was by far the most prevalent. Interestingly this return to dormitories had been seen as a backward step by many men who had moved from the older hostels, one of which had provided mostly cubicles. Economics seemed to have determined building policies rather than ideological ones. There were different rates originally for the two types of board but a higher rent for private rooms had meant that when or if you attempted to move a man out he, quite justifiably, said he was paying for it. DHSS had also refused to meet the higher cost, so in effect dormitory prices had been rounded up to an acceptable rate and private rooms were lowered. Like the Reception Centre there were adequate bath, shower and toilet facilities, and I gathered that sometimes some persuasion to bath might be placed on a man, when he made a request for clothing. Towels, razors and pyjamas were expected to be bought from the 'Salvage' operation, run from the Family Centre attached to the Hostel. A policy of providing free towels - on the basis they would be returned when the man could get one of his own - had resulted in providing over 100 towels with none returned! The policy was discontinued! Within the dormitories each man should have a bedside chair and the use of a locker. Two difficulties emerged here - some of the chairs had been removed to theFamily Centre for the weekly Friday night sale and had not been replaced, and secondly men had to pay a 50p key deposit for the lockers. This figure was even being raised in the future. This was an understandable deterrent to take-up!

Food was served in a canteen, and every encouragement was given to men to book in as full-board rather than bed and breakfast. If a man only wanted B & B he had to book for the week, not just a single night. He could however buy other meals in the canteen for prices displayed on the menu board. No casual eating - i.e., men coming in off the streets - occurred and the Manager held that, situated where it was, a mile from the City Centre, there was no call for it.

Finally, when looking at the physical and organisational arrangements, recreational facilities also differed. In both instances, drinking on the premises was forbidden. At the Reception Centre the main and in fact almost only attraction was a T.V. Although, for the more energetic, table tennis, darts &c., were provided. There seemed no restriction on their use, outside of the time when men were supposed to be performing work tasks. At the S.A.Hostel two lounges were provided - one carpeted and more comfortable with a T.V. was for non-smokers, and the other a more austere but larger room doubled as a smoking area and meeting place. Originally, the former had been designed as an O.A.P's lounge, but this was against the Manager's personal ideology to separate people chronologically - a point I had to agree with! The smoking area also had a T.V. at one end, and the Manager stressed that he always ensured lights were on in the evening at the other end to enable those who wished to read to do so. The only times these rooms had to be vacated was for cleaning. The major difference in approach arose over provision of games facilities. In the S.A.Hostel a games night was arranged in the hall in the Family Centre once a week - the accent being on establishing a routine, a habit, rather than constant provision, which was seen as less beneficial for the men. At the time of my visits, it was being considered that the virtually unused sick bay area of 5 beds be cleared and converted into an occupational therapy area - again to be open certain days a week for those who wished.

(b) <u>Relationships</u>

Following any discussion of organisational and structural arrangements, staffing is an important consideration. Within the Reception Centre men were cared for not by social workers but by Civil Servants - admittedly those who had chosen themselves to opt for the work - and Care Assistants who were recruited specifically for the task from a pool of untrained labour.

The men themselves, in performing the morning work tasks, cleaned and made beds &c., so that no outside employees for these jobs were necessary. Three men were allocated to each of the two cooks to provide kitchen assistance - so again this aspect was covered.

However, what is most significant is that the men had completely different expectations of each institution. Coming to a Reception Centre, even if unenthusiastic about the regime, they knew what to expect and the institutional nature of the place was in itself an attraction to some. For men recently released from prison or mental hospital, as many of them were, it was a case of exchanging one institution for another! A kind of "prison culture" reigned, with limited recreational and work opportunities, and a shared code of conduct amongst the residents. This code prohibited men 'splitting' on those who broke rules, a clear division between them and us being maintained by staff and residents. On the more positive side, there was an inherent system of mutual support for any man seen to be one of the 'boys'. Although the aim of staff was to help a man to a more settled way of life, the men for the most part viewed the Centre as a source of physical provision - a roof over their head, food and medical attention. This latter is often unobtainable luxury for the single homeless. One was left with the feeling however that the men had a very pragmatic relationship with the Centre and its staff - they took what they needed and weighed the benefits to be received against the disadvantages.

The Salvation Army was very different. To start with there were two married officer couples who were the staff, and instead of men either individually or through a system of work tasks, being expected to clean and make their beds, certain residents were employed as 'staff' to perform these jobs. In return 'staff' received their board and lodging and certain privileges, which included their own room, and a separate 'staff room'. In addition 5 women were employed to do the cleaning. Life for the resident was in this sense easier - but he was of course paying for the privilege. (In the Reception Centre a similar charge of £2 per night was levied if a man had funds). Predominantly the Hostel was seen as being run as a form of Charity, and on this basis men resented very much having to pay for any clothes they were given, arguing that they had been given free to the S.A. They seemed to expect different rules to apply and were therefore more critical, than of the Centre, if the place did

not meet their expectations. Interestingly enough, while viewing the place as run on charitable lines, they saw the Captain as Manager not as a S.A. officer. The ethos was a puritan ethic of no drinking and no gambling.

The Reception Centre, although the successor to the Poor Law's Casual Ward and thus the epitomy of Charity, somehow had managed to divest itself of that particular stigma. A remnant of a Protestant work ethic, however, did remain.

(c) Spiritual Element

It is difficult indeed to ascertain how the men experienced the spiritual content within the S.A.Hostel. It has already been mentioned that they did not identify the Manager as a S.A.Officer and therefore a minister of Religion. This was quite clearly demonstrated by the fact that visiting officers - usually from the local Corps - attracted more spiritual pleas for help than did the resident officers. However, apart from an overt acknowledgement that it was run by a religious organisation, the men mostly appeared to view the place as any other hostel. Meetings, held daily except Saturday, were voluntary - although the attraction of a free cup of tea after the Sunday Meetings might have lured some to attend.. Religion was 'available' for those who wanted. The officers were there to counsel, but only if men requested their help. The accent on the evil of drink could to all intents and purposes be found in secular hostels, whose ban on drinking on the premises might have been occasioned by a different ideology but its end effect was the same - no alcohol!

For those men who did show some interest in religion, many were seen to be using it for their own ends. This might be thought to be a somewhat cynical view, but experience in S.A.Hostels all over the country seems to point to the fact that a healthy suspicion of the man claiming to have been suddenly converted is in order. He may well be looking for the security of a job as 'staff', or may be looking for other work within the hostel, and thinks that 'conversion' is a means of ingratiating himself with the officer in charge.

In contrast the Reception Centre offered no religious involvement, not even in the shape of a token chaplain, as is the case in other forms of institution.

What emerges from this comparison is that for the client there are alternative means of having his needs fulfilled. The differences may be based on organisational and physical differences, or on ideological ones. The difference may also lie purely in the way in which the client perceives the institution and his preconceived expectations ofit. It is dangerous, however, to assume that all clients have a real choice - as opposed to a merely theoretical one. The choice is there if they have sufficient knowledge of the whole range of provision in their locality. Unfortunately many will not. This must not detract though from the value of alternative provision, or the fact that such a choice canbe made.

The Wolfenden Report recently made the point that client choice was an important reason for the existence of voluntary alternatives.

> "We have stressed this point of alternative provision in connection with the relationships between the voluntary sector and the statutory sector. Much the same general principle applies to the relationships between one voluntary organisation and another. Obviously not every consumer can have provision tailor-made to suit his own requirements. But there may well be valid reasons, perhaps religious or ethnic, why one organisation is more appropriate to his needs than another even if the outside world finds them almost indistinguishable."
> (Wolfenden, 1978, 191)

Another way in which the material can usefully be examined is to compare the two forms of secular provision as against the two religious, bridging the two service categories. This is done, however, with the growing knowledge that the secular/religious dimension per se is not as central as had been anticipated.

Secular Provision

Both Social Services and the Reception Centre are Statutory agencies, but significant differences are recognisable between them and the way in which they offer a service.

Social Services is an organisation, hierarchically structured and bureaucratic, but under Local Government control. Albeit legislation emanates from Parliament, but

for the workers who were studied this has little relevance for their particular jobs in that they are far less involved in the statutory work of child care and mental health. Legislation for other groups at risk is far less comprehensive - long standing. On the other hand, the Reception Centre is an institution, controlled by Central Government, and like other Civil Service Agencies bureaucratically run. The issue of Central Government control is of growing importance in the field of Social Work and the Social Work Advisory Service of the DHSS is seeking more power to intervene in the ways Local Authorities administer their Social Services Department (Cf Article in Community Care 1.6.77 p.22)

Both agencies suffer from regulations imposed upon them from above, although within the Reception Centre legal requirements had more of an impact on the actual service experienced by the clients - e.g., admission regulations and procedures. Within Social Services, bureacratic formalities were also evident, imposed by a local hierarchy, but there was more evidence of rule breaking e.g., over job demarcation.

Perhaps the most over-riding distinctions that emerged were those related to philosophy. Basically Social Services were seen to have a caring role (particularly those workers studied), in which clients were to be treated as people. Provision was more flexible both in the sense of there being more alternatives, and also in the fact that a whole range of categories of need were dealt with. With the implementation of Seebohm much of the historical background was over-ridden, and a fresher and more modern approach to service provision was possible, unencumbered by historical factors and attitudes.

The Reception Centre appeared to have a much more containing role, in which basic minimal provision was intended to put a man back into the Welfare State and its safety net system, through which the single homeless so often seem to fall. Historically, the influence of the Poor Law mentality towards vagrants was less successfully overcome, despite more recent legislation. The institution only aimed to cater for one category of need - those of an unsettled way of life, and in this respect was less flexible, as in the type of provision it could offer. As

a result of Government 'red tape' clients tended to be processed much more than within Social Services, and as is always the danger in any form of institution the resident/client is depersonalised.

These differences serve to remind us that care must be taken in generalising about all secular and statutory provision as though it was unitary. However, underlying such differences there does remain an identifying ideology which differentiates it from its voluntary religious alternatives.

Religious Provision

Within the voluntary sector, religious organisations play a prominent role, and it is the religious connotations or affiliations which normally make most impact on the clients, rather than their voluntary status.

For the Sisters religion was an intrinsic part of their work. They could very clearly identify whythey were doing their particular work, based on the Rule of their Congregation, their Founder's wishes and Christian beliefs in the duty to love one's neighbour. There was an overt recognition of their religious role, in which they were closely identified with church and caring. They were identifiable by their habit, which they always wore, and which made them welcome and respected.

In a strange way within the S.A.setting religion was not so intrinsic to the work. There was a similar commissioning to serve those less fortunate, based on a Christian love of one's fellow man, but no clear cut reason why the S.A.was continuing to be involved in that particular form of provision - given the secular alternatives available. Clients did not perceive the officers as ministers of religion, so there was less identification of personnel with church or sect. Like the Sisters they wore a uniform, but this was discarded when they were off duty, and although in its own way perhaps as readily identifiable as a religious habit it did not perform quite the same function for its wearer.

Both groups felt they had a vocation or had been commissioned to work for others, and neither group differentiated between believers and non-believers in terms of whom they helped. However, the way in which they carried out their work did diverge significantly. For the Sisters the crucial factor was their membership

of a Community - here as celibate women they found mutual support and identity. This sense of community, of family was interpreted in a wider sense to embrace the relationship they had with clients. However, for the Salvation Army Officer, life was very different. He was identified as part of an overt religious organisation or sect but in his work he very much operated at an individual level. Again he was a married man with a family (usually) and work was seen in this context, although how far he actually allowed his children to mix with residents was a personal decision. There was the concept of 'God's family' for those who accepted Christian belief, and an attempt to make residents part of a family, (for example exchanging Christmas presents), but the difference perhaps lay in how the clients perceived this.

So too within the religious setting, differences occur. However, again underpinning these differences certain ideological similarities (albeit varying in degree) still serve to distinguish religious agencies from their secular brothers.

Conclusion

Although the comparison of secular and religious provision across the two service categories provides a useful recapitualtion of what has been said earlier in the Chapter, it is of limited use in furthering the discussion of why the groups differed. As the three chapters in Section C are attempting to do - certain themes have provided the focus for identifying differences rather than the simple secular/religious label. This point will be taken up again in Chapter 8.

Wht does emerge as so significant though is that for the client it is not just the service which is offered but also the way in which it is rendered. As one Sister put it "There are ways and means of doing things". Klein (1973) makes this a fundamental distinction. She also suggests that two approaches to work can be identified: 'responding to need' and 'working for autonomy'. Such approaches obviously have considerable implications for the clients. The first is a crisis approach which seeks to remedy ills and right wrongs by immediate action. This in Klein's view should then lead

on to the second approach in which the worker is seeking to make himself redundant and enable the client to deal with his own problems. Clark continues the argument by suggesting

> "The most crucial issue for my part, however is how meeting crises and alleviating distress can be integrated with working for the autonomy of the individual,....It is so often taken for granted that caring means immediately removing the cause of distress or giving unconditional help, and indeed this is sometimes the only thing one can do. But it is forgotten that autonomy can only be realized by an individual for himself, and thus it is vitally important <u>how</u> distress is eased and <u>how</u> we offer assistance."
> (Clark, 1977, 212)

This is precisely the conclusion to which this chapter comes.

In some senses all four groups were 'responding to need' - but did they go further towards 'working for autonomy'? I would suggest that the Sisters did.

> "<u>Working for autonomy</u> - I asked about the distinction of going in and doing things for clients or whether you help people to do things for themselves "Well, I think we've always done that, I mean we, we go into a home where perhaps the patient hasn't got the foggiest idea of how to cope (uhuh) but by the time that we leave them we should have left them with plenty of good ideas of how to cope - I mean that's been our work all the time. (....)Sometimes you might have a patient you go to just for that one reason only to help her to cope, to show her how to do her housework, how to be methodical, how to budget."

The other three, however, while implicitly holding to this view within their policies were less successful in actually doing so. It can be suggested that it was the organisational form of the groups, rather than their ideology, which made the difference in this respect. Chapter Seven is concerned to explore these varying organisational forms, and therefore the answer to the question of why three of the groups were less successful in working for client autonomy will emerge within the next chapter implicitly.

CHAPTER SEVEN : COMMUNITY AND BUREAUCRACY AS AS ORGANISATIONAL FORMS

> "There is never only a work process, of the kind that is usually abstracted: a set of operations on things. There is also whether recognised or not, a set of social relationships, which in experience are quite inextricable from the work etc."
> (Williams, 1968, 292)

Very early in the analysis of the empirical data it became evident that the structure of the group or agency from which the workers operated was a crucial factor in the kind of service that they rendered to clients. However it was not possible to look at this solely in the terms of one kind of organisational model. What appeared to be emerging was a continuum, between a traditional bureaucratic model and the very different concept of community, along which the four groups could be positioned. But, herein lay a major problem.

There is a vast literature available in the field of organisational theory pertaining to bureaucracy and an equally large one related to the concept of community. I wished to examine both bureaucracy and community as they had emerged from the empirical data. This was a combination, in terms of organisational theory, that is rarely brought together, but which the reality of the data had made essential.

It is perhaps not surprising therefore that when, initially, I had tried to apply various well-known typologies to my four groups, in an attempt to understand their differences, I met with little success. For my purposes these typologies (Blau & Scott, 1963; Etzioni, 1975) proved inadequate. I turned with greater expectations to a typology which originated from a thesis in ecclesiastical administration by Peter Rudge. He posited five different organisational models - each with its particular focus - traditional (maintaining a tradition), charismatic (pursuing an intuition), classical (running a machine), human relations (leading groups) and finally systematic (adapting a system). Unfortunately when pursued and applied to my own empirical work these models too proved of limited use.

Having found existing typologies to be so inappropriate as to render it unnecessary even to explain somewhat tediously how they did not work, I have taken community and bureaucracy as the core concepts to be examined. Chapter Seven therefore, presents these two models - both as they are described in the literature and as I found them displayed in my empirical groups. In relation to community I found David Clark's working definition of the concept to be particularly helpful, and have provided a rather detailed analysis of how this could be applied to the four groups.

Having dealt separately with community and bureaucracy, I then examine the inter-relationship between the two organisational forms and the concept of professionalization as it applies in social work. This is followed by two concrete examples of how the four groups differed because of their varied organisational structures: i.e., in relation to power and authority, and in their use of volunteers. These examples are followed by a consideration of the implications of community, and particularly the difficulties of combining it with caring work.

The conclusion to which I was being drawn was now clearer - that the key differentiator between the groups was this idea of community, and all that this particular choice of organisation resulted in. Community was IT.

Community

There have been numerous attempts to describe just what community is. The problem in some measure lies I feel with the point that, as Plant (1974) puts it, 'community' is both fact and value. He quotes the comment of Minar & Greer

> "Community is both empirically descriptive of a social structure and normatively toned. It refers both to the unit of society as it is and to the aspects of that unit that are valued if they exist and desired in their absence".
> (Quoted in Plant, 1974, 13)

Community has become the magic word and for some merely a slogan (Greeley 1968). We need to return to a much clearer definition of just what we mean by the term, despite the inherent problems.

In reading about community I was particularly struck by the approach of David Clark, and it is around his working definition of the concept that I have based my

initial analysis of the groups.

> "the strength of community within any given group is determined by the degree to which its members experience both a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance within it."
>
> "It is how the members of the group <u>themselves</u> feel that is the basic concern".
> (Clark, 1973, 409)

There are several features of this definition which appear to make it appropriate. Firstly, it is a <u>working</u> definition, one which is meant to be applied. I was not interested in an abstract definition which would be difficult if not impossible to apply to the reality as experienced by the groups. This brings out the second point - Clark's emphasis is firmly on the subjective experience of those within the group. This was in line with my own approach. Thirdly, I believed that the idea of solidarity and significance was central to any understanding of community. Plant quotes the work of Poplin on Communities in which he argues:

> "that members of communities regard each other as whole persons who are of intrinsic significance and worth whereas members of mass society regard each other as means to ends and assign no such intrinsic worth and significance to the individual."
> (Quoted in Plant, 1974, 18)
>
> We must beware of confusing community with geographical proximity.
> (Plant, 1974).

Of course, religious orders have for centuries, as Clark (1977) reminds us, been regarded as the 'epitome of Christian community'. How did my particular group of Sisters match up to Clark's working definition?

Traditionally there has been within the monastic orders the idea of denial of the individual self which would appear to be in direct opposition to the sense of significance to which Clark refers. However, with the renewal of religious life prescribed by the Council of Vatican II, one sees a growth away from this to a far more positive attitude towards the value and worth of individual members in their own right. This is obviously entirely in keeping with the Christian belief in the value of every human being.

The Sisters experienced a sense of solidarity evident in no other group. The Community provided the

base from which they went out and the source of support and encouragement, as well as uniting them in a common identity and purpose. After one particular visit, of a particularly emotionally charged nature, the strength of this community support was overtly recognised.

> "Sr A admitted to the very draining nature of such a visit and the need to come back and have a joke and a laugh with the others. They recognise the need to share events of the day when they come in - something I have personally experienced too - and when I queried whether this was difficult as the others presumably had the same needs, she said that they did try to make time for this. That sort of visit could be a lot more draining than nursing a very heavy patient all day."

During a visit to another of their branch houses the necessity of such support given the difficult cases that they accept was again stressed.

> "She indicated that the work was hard and frustrating - one small insignificant incident could almost wreck months of careful and hard work. The support of the community, etc., seems to be important here."

Living and working as a group, the solidarity of community was demonstrated not only in their outside work but in the running of the house. In the words of one elderly Sister

> "We always say we're more like a family in the house, everybody does something in the house (yes) to keep the house clean, tidy, washing and cooking and everything else. And then outside, nearly everybody does something in the outside (uhm) either with patients or visiting or perhaps helping old people".

The complete unity and consistency of their life and work is a further measure of their solidarity, and true sense of community. The same elderly Sister quoted above explained that it was difficult to describe the work because one just "lived it".

They believed in the intrinsic worth of each human being and people were therefore not just someone with a particular status, occupation or income.

Turning to the non-qualified workers within the Social Services, it is this very preoccupation with status differentials that is first evident. Status within the Department was indicated in many ways apart from just job title and work undertaken. For example, the two Neighbourhood Aids were expected to share one desk between them, although they did also use desks not in use due to people being on leave etc. The Neighbourhood Aids had to

fill in time sheets and were paid weekly, as were the Home Helps. However, despite constant reminders that they were at the bottom of the pyramid in terms of status, the Neighbourhood Aids seemed to accept their own limitations. There was not, however, the same passive acceptance of her situation by the Welfare Assistant.

> "There was obviously quite a lot of feeling about status and pay and work done by the N.A's, and some discontent over the proposed social work assistants."

> "They are threatening to work to their job description... Throughout this she expressed the frustration that she enjoyed her work and would be quite happy if she was more fairly remunerated for the work she is doing - but all this haggling is making the job not so pleasant..."

Similarly the VHO was unhappy with limitations on her role within the Department.

> "She is trying to get this Uncle and Aunt scheme with the Children's Homes going - but seemed somewhat impatient with all the bureaucracy and red tape that accompanied the selection of volunteers. While I agree with her that you could have too much - some safeguards were obviously necessary... It seems that there was an underlying resentment that VHOs would not be allowed to do the final social work assessment of a volunteer's suitability and this rankled."

Thus it can be seen that the workers experienced little sense of solidarity or significance within the wider bureaucracy of the Department, although this was mitigated a little by their particular District Team's approach. One sensed that any individual feeling of significance or belonging was due to the informal networks of colleague relationships rather than stemming from their membership of the Department. Obviously they 'belonged' to the Social Services, when asked to identify from which agency they came, but this was purely in terms of an employer/employee relationship.

The Salvation Army presents a more mixed position. Salvation Army officers evidently derive a strong sense of solidarity or belonging from their membership of The Army, and this is both demonstrated and strengthened by the wearing of a uniform. Similarly, with the habit of the Sisters. However, their military organisation places

people in statuses and ranks, and there is therefore an inevitable tendency to view the individual as a person of a particular rank rather than a person in his own right. This, I feel, necessarily diminishes the strength of community. Although such internal community is diminished, the Captain was at pains to stress wider community strengths

> "The Captain obviously felt that developing a feeling of community was as important and significant as personal spiritual work. (Later discovered his involvement in local CAB which substantiated this belief)"

In Ireland too he had turned his attention to the wider community aspect, as the actual spiritual side was reduced given the very few Protestants utilising hostel facilities.

> "Had only about 4-5 Protestants at a time in the Hostel - so spiritual side was depleted and turned their attention to holding community evenings that were coming increasingly popular."

However, the Captain's useage of the word is veering much more to the idea of community as a geographically located neighbourhood group.

The final group studied - the Reception Centre - falls at one extreme of the continuum, that least experiencing community. The Civil Service bureaucracy provides a place of work, lacking any sense of community in the terms outlined by Clark. The only solidarity is perhaps to be found amongst the men in their various unions, but is certainly not rooted in the organisational structure itself.

This discussion, while talking of subjective experience, is not necessarily relating lack of community to an impoverished service, but it is stating that the work done from within the context of community is likely to be quite different from that ensuing from stark government regulations.

I was interested in community as an organisational structure for the workers, and not solely the clients. Much has been written about therapeutic communities as a tool in the treatment of clients/patients, but little on the idea of community from the point of view of workers. (The work of the Simon Community or Cyrenians with the Single Homeless is a striking exception). But how did community relate to those whom these workers served? To what extent were clients absorbed into the experience of community shared by their helpers?

The answer to this clearly divides the Sisters from all the other groups. They alone seemed to extend the benefits of community to those they served - although this was not obviously in the sense of attracting people to full membership of their community! The researcher was drawn into the friendship and hospitality of their community while still remaining apart. On the other hand, the Salvation Army while occasionally succeeding in 'converting' their clients to the Christian faith, did not seem to experience themselves anything like the same degree of community of the Sisters to which to draw people. This should perhaps be qualified by saying that, within the hostel, occasional attempts to create a family were made (for example by giving the men Christmas presents, and in some cases encouraging the officer's children to mix with the men). For the officer some degree of community was experienced as a result of his sect membership, but by the very nature of this sect this was an exclusive rather than inclusive thing, i.e., clients (unless joining the sect) could not benefit fully from such a sense of community.

Obviously the two statutory agencies were not in a position to absorb clients into a 'community' which they themselves did not experience.

It might be questioned why there is no mention of the classic works on community (for example Tonnies' famous work - Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft). I did in fact turn initially to the literature devoted to the sociology of community, but found that due to my emphasis on <u>community as a work setting</u> much of it was inappropriate. This too applied to the growing body of literature on community development. Certain ideas, however, did support the very strengths that I had identified as being integral to the Sisters. Nisbet talks of 'wholeness' in a way which reminded me vividly of the integrated life/work style of the Sisters.

> "Community is founded upon man conceived in his wholeness rather than in one or another of the roles taken separately that he may hold in the social order"
> (Quoted in Plant, 1974, 17)

So did Cox's reference (1968, 56) to the segmentation of the person in modern urban society compared with the totality of the person in the older communal forms of

social organisation. Though as Cox suggests, it is dangerous to go on to suggest that necessarily this modern form of relationships with others is less human or less authentic.

Not only is there a vast secular literature on the subject, but also a more specifically religious one - for community is an intrinsically Christian idea, with considerable historic precedence. As Bonhoeffer (1972) suggests in 'Life Together' that the Christian community is a divine reality starting from a spiritual not a material base. However, it is not possible nor appropriate to discuss its meaning and useage more fully here.

I will conclude this section on community by reminding the reader that community should not be seen as the antithesis of structure - far from it - it is one form of organisation, although often not seen in that light. Greeley, a prominent American sociologist in the socio-religious field, makes the point quite strongly:

> "If there is one thing that is clear in contemporary writing about the Catholic Church, it is the insistence that it is a community and a people. Indeed, most of us have heard this so often in recent years, that we are probably tired of hearing it. (But it ought to be noted that the communitarian nature of the Church is still stressed far more in theory than in practice.) Frequently, especially in amateur theologizing and socializing about the Church, one would gain the impression that the Church as a community is somehow opposed to the Church as a structure (or institution), as though the ideal would be to have a Christian community without structure. It rarely occurs to such commentators that a community without structure is a non-existent community, because all human groups, even the most simple, quickly evolve established patterns of behaviour and agreed-upon norms to regulate these patterns of behaviour. In other words, even the most elementary community has structure and laws. Those who wish to eliminate laws and organisation in the Church, and replace them with affection and love, show little understanding of man or of society." (Greeley, 1968, 56f)

There is no question, however, about the existence of structure within the other organisational form which I wish to consider - that of bureaucracy!

Bureaucracy.

There is a growing acceptance within social work circles that organisational structure is of considerable significance, as the Brunel Study of Social Services Departments points out

> "They cannot ignore it; it conditions their every daily act and every working relation. Many of the problems of work which they spontaneously present are quite overtly in organizational terms, and many others can readily be demonstrated to have some immediate organizational cause."
> (Brunel Institute, 1974, 2).

As many of social work's functions are determined by Acts of Parliament, it is inevitable that ensuing administration and organisational pressures necessitate the development of rules and procedures. Bureaucracy becomes aninevitability. It was thought that 'the case-work relationship' would provide the humanising element within growing bureaucratic structures (Seed, 1973)but unfortunately this has not proved the case. In the 1950's and 1960's, Seed suggests that, problem families themselves were the product of -

> "the inadequacies of bureaucratic structures and services established, in some cases especially to deal with them. Slowly attention began to focus more on services and less on problem families."
> (Seed, 1973, 68)

But what is this much maligned organisational form of bureaucracy? The term has suffered much misinterpretation through the years, not least because of the ideal-typical nature of the original concept. It is worth quoting Clark in some detail on this very problem:-

> "The classical organization has in recent years received a bad press, so much so that the term 'bureaucratic' is now condemnatory rather than descriptive. Yet this model, as Weber realized, is the rational outcome of man seeking to survive in a highly complex, technological society. And because the Church is an institution along with other institutions it too has found itself taking on more and more features of the classical type of organization.
>
> There are many obvious weaknesses inherent in this mechanistic approach to human affairs. It is by definition hierarchical, with authority concentrated in the upper echelons and (almost) absolute at the peak of the pyramid, bringing problems ranging from autocracy at the top to a sense of helplessness and hopelessness at the bottom. One's status accords with one's role, defined in terms of the good 'organization man'. The professional and expert are always preferred

> to the non -professional and the layman. Relationships are structured according to the system and breaking protocol is a major offence. Encounter is contained and restricted by the 'primary task'(i.e., what the organization must do to survive in its environment) of the enterprise. (Rice, 1963)"
>
> (Clark, 1977, 249f)

It is easy to recognise many of the features of bureaucracy described above within the groups studied, particularly those within Social Services and the Reception Centre. But it should also be acknowledged that the same features were also present to some extent with the two religious groups. What made their impact very different was the <u>attitude</u> of those workers to that bureaucracy. In other words the very ideology of the Sisters, and to a lesser extent the Salvation Army, made such bureaucratic features acceptable. In addition the Sisters were in a rather paradoxical position - being clearly within one form of organisation (i.e., community) and yet at the same time being part of the wider bureaucratic structure of the Catholic Church.

The Reception Centre could quite readily be equated with Civil Service bureaucracy - this was what it was claimed to be and what on the basis of observation it was.

More than once I was reminded that staff were civil servants not social workers, and this led to dissatisfaction by many managers as to arrangements for training.

> "Courses are run by the Social Work Service people. Managers are not happy about this. They want to see courses run by civil service with a social work content. Problems they feel are on the civil service side not on the human relations side. This is what is lacking. 'Natural compassion' starts him on the road to human relations but not on being a 'paper person' e.g., a cashier... He feels there is a need to talk to him about the accountability of a civil servant. Not functioning as social workers."

Weber's original study of bureaucracy was set in the context of his wider study of authority in society. He proposed certain distinctive characteristics of bureaucracies, amongst these as we have seen, were a clear cut division of labour making possible a high degree of specialisation, an hierarchical authority structure with formal sets of rules and regulations, and employees appointed to their positions with the expectation that they would maintain an impersonal

orientation to clients. The authority is legitimized on rational/legal grounds. All this holds true for the Reception Centre, with one small exception.

> "Specialization, in turn, promotes expertness among the staff, both directly and by enabling the organisation to hire employees on the basis of their technical qualifications."
> (Brooks - 1978 Unpublished paper)

At the Reception Centre, the emphasis within staffing selection was firstly on those who volunteered from amongst the vast body of civil servants and, for those in lower positions, on the absence of wrong motives and an apparent suitability for the job - judged on personality rather than technical expertise.

> "Staff volunteer for the work at the Centre - therefore they probably have a leaning in that direction to start with. They also have many years of experience. In Circular D120/76 it talks about the problems staff would have to deal with and asks for patient, understanding and tolerant fellows ... Volunteers come to the Centre on a 3 month trial basis - on both sides - during which they are a mixture of functional and non-functional."

> "Ten Grade II Assistants recruited not from Civil Service ranks as the above but from Labour Exchange. We eliminated the 'foot washers' (those atoning for some guilt) and the amateur psychiatrists! If the man was still interested after lurid descriptions of lice, dirt etc., anti-social hours, abuse etc., then he explained the job!"

The position vis a vis Social Service Departments is obviously not as clear cut. Many writers (Seed included) have accepted that they are bureaucracies

> "Having seen themselves as a humanising agent in relation to the administrative structures of the Welfare State, social workers now had to face the challenge of being an organisation within state bureaucracy themselves and at the same time expected to be identified with the local community they served."
> (Seed, 1973, 99)

Others have qualified this - for example the Brunel Institute study suggests

> "In essence we have suggested that to talk of social services departments simply as 'bureaucracies' is to miss the enormous complexity of the many distinguishable social structures involved. It is true that the basic textures of this central departmental structure appear to be hierarchical, in a defined sense, and likely to remain so. But

> 'hierarchy' here must certainly not be taken as synonymous with 'bureaucracy'. The degree of formalization, centralization, impersonality etc., is a matter of separate determination. Moreover, the basic hierarchical structure is not the only one of account in Social Service Departments. Increasingly, recognition must be given to further group structures which cut freely across main hierarchical lines. In these groups the leading roles are co-ordinative rather than managerial in nature."
>
> (Brunel Institute, 1974, 32)

In some sense both stances are quite true. There is some danger in automatically equating bureaucracy and hierarchy - this is far too simplistic - but on the other hand bureaucratic elements are inevitable in a Department which is part of the state's welfare machinery.

In a more important way, too, I would hold that it was the experience of those particular workers I studied that they were part of a bureaucracy. Certainly status accorded with role (as Clark points out) - being at the bottom of the pyramid meant that you had low status and in turn this influenced the category of clients with whom you were expected to deal. They were similarly low placed in a scale of priorities - for example the elderly.

> "We also discussed the devaluation of the elderly - this fitted in with the philosophy of only welfare assistants, i.e., the untrained and unqualified were left to deal with this low priority category of the elderly together with the handicapped."

These workers felt they were far removed from any decision making process and authority was vested in people they rarely, if ever, saw. One Neighbourhood Aid suggested

> "...I don't even know if the bosses above know exactly what we're supposed to be doing as such."

She certainly would have no say in future policies over her job.

But one cannot refer to bureaucracy without considering the issue of professionalization in social work, which inevitably affects questions of status and work allocation, as well as perception of work. In reviewing the historical development of social work, Seed describes the preventive work of the Fifties and Sixties in this way.

> "The development of casework in bureaucratic settings occurred in this context. It is a story of the interaction of bureaucratic competition with professionalisation, and the progress of social work educators in influencing the whole ethos of certain social service organisations.

> Professional social work practice became more closely identified with government social policy."
>
> (Seed, 1973, 70)

For some, 'professional' was to be equated with 'bureaucratic' (Seed, 1973), and indeed Seed saw the reality of the Welfare State as "a compromise between political, bureaucratic and professional interests" (Seed, 1973, 95) instead of the 'ideal system' it was supposed to be.

Contemporary debate now centres on the assumed clash between professionalism and bureaucracy. Eliot Jacques dismisses this in his Foreword to the Brunel Study stating that the Research Unit found no inconsistency between professional freedom and hierarchical management organisation. They saw a confusion between the professional freedom of the social worker and the clinical autonomy of the medical profession. Rather than talk of professional autonomy they would prefer the use of the term 'delegated discretion'. They saw social workers as unlikely to achieve autonomy in the future either.

But I do not wish to be drawn into the academic debate over an acceptable definition of what is a 'profession', and the corollary to this, as to whether social work *is* a profession or not. The workers whom I studied were non-professionals in what would be accepted by the public as a professional setting - the Social Services. What I was interested in was how this situation affected those workers. The question of status has already been dealt with in detail (Ch.5) but I would like to examine a little more closely the implication for work allocation.

Nokes (1967) makes the distinction between 'the general care role' and the 'virtuoso performance' which is the other role of social workers. One might suggest that this particular distinction is the crucial aspect in differing roles for non-professional and professional.

I have already referred to the fact that the Welfare Assistant's actual work reflected a considerable discrepancy from that given in any written job description. Since she had taken up post, in fact, her job description had been re-written six or seven times. As we have seen she tended to deal exclusively with the 'low-priority' elderly. This approach to the assignment of work has been termed

'the droppings'approach' which is based on

> "identifying the 'tasks' that must be performed by the professional and then by a process of elimination arrive at the 'tasks' that can be delegated to other levels of 'not' professional staff"
>
> (Briggs, 1973, 16)

Another traditional model which starts with the task is the 'bottoms-up approach' where you

> "identify the 'tasks' that can be performed by entry level personnel and then move up the ladder, assigning to each position all that can be done competently. The 'professional's' tasks will also be determined through the process of elimination - his activities consisting of those which no other lower level person can perform."
>
> (Briggs, 1973, 16)

Briggs strongly advocates an alternative model

> "an approach to the differential utilization of personnel which starts not with tasks but with the 'needs'or 'problems' of people and then proceeds to define functions required to meet those needs."
>
> (Briggs, 1973, 17)

Unfortunately, all too often we are left with the deficiencies of those earlier models, and the demoralising effect they can have on staff at the bottom of the ladder. This situation is not eased by the fact that there has always existed a somewhat elitist view of child care and family casework as 'real' social work, with the correspondingly implicit assumption that work with other clients is of secondary importance (Baker, 1977)

But did certain expectations about professionals emerge from the data? The Sisters appeared to see the label 'professional' providing permission for the rightful exchange of confidential information, that would otherwise be unethical.

> "Sr A is very adamant that the details of patients should not be discussed - other than with another professional, e.g., doctor, and this was why she was prepared to talk to me, as I had been a professional."

By implication she was also saying that she saw herself as a professional.

For those in Social Services, 'professional' was very much bound up with being trained or qualified - seen as a hurdle or barrier that none of them had crossed - but which impinged on what they could or could not then do.

Why are people so anxious to align themselves with the professions? If we can answer that question then in

some measure we are closer to understanding what a profession is, or what it means for its aspirants. It is akin in some ways to the mystique of research - the woman on the radio who asks if 'research' can't be done as though that more than anything else provides the magic answer. Resources are probably a far more significant factor. For some, 'professional' is seen as a re-inforcement of their lower and necessarily more insecure status, and therefore a position to be coveted as superior.

It is interesting to note in passing that it has been suggested that the domination of females in the three occupations of teaching, nursing and social work is in fact the central barrier to their becoming accepted as 'full-professions'. (Ritzer, 1971).

Ideal-types, such as profession and bureaucracy, have their limitations and their strengths, as we saw with the categories of church and sect. They can be a useful analytical tool in the form of a neutral yard-stick or they can become much more than this, pointing to a desirable goal. But there can be no 'real' situation to match the ideal-type model, i.e., there is an inevitable discrepancy between the abstraction and the empirical data. This is because they imply something static and unchanging, whereas as I have stressed all along we are concerned with a process of reality. Also they lack important features when applied to the 'real' situation - for example the non-professional dimensionsof the professional occupation are completely neglected in the ideal-type model of the profession (Warham, 1977).

Nevertheless, bureaucracy as an ideal-type can very usefully shed light on certain aspects of organisations - for example the nature of authority relationships and the division of labour within them. (Warham, 1977, 68). Much of my interest centred on the type of work and way in which this was allocated, together with the inter-changeability and flexibility of workers.

Weber presented his model as the most 'efficient' type of organisation. Whereas this may be challenged in the context of social work today, it can of course help identify the functions which such an organisation serves and which it does not. Such functions and dysfunctions have been described as follows:

> "The functions of bureaucratic forms of organisation have been variously defined, but have been taken to include stability and permanence, role security, the rational deployment of individual skills, and impartiality of treatment for both members of the organisation and outsiders in contact with it. Dysfunctions in relation to efficiency have been taken to include ritualism and overcomformity, inflexibility and resistance to change, restrictions on the imaginative use of individual skills and initiative, and the routinisation of procedures for handling situations which ideally require individual treatment."
>
> (Warham, 1977, 68)

But even within the sphere of social work, there can be positive gains

> "First, in circumstances in which the just treatment of clients requires impartiality in the allocation of goods and services, criteria of eligibility must be formally established and impartially implemented, and not be left to the discretion of individuals....Second, both formal authority structures and written rules and regulations can afford support and protection to individual members of an organisation; and indeed may be said to constitute responsibility-sharing devices. Third, there may be certain activities within even a professional organisation which can be most easily and efficiently carried out if routinised on a bureaucratic basis."
>
> (Warham, 1977, 69)

What light does this throw on the four groups? Starting with the most overtly bureaucratic organisation, the Reception Centre administers and implements legislation in regard to the single homeless who are of an unsettled way of life. Formal rules and regulations are meant to ensure equality of provision, but unfortunately the consequent lack of discretion open to workers leads to a less satisfactory service from the client's point of view. Individual needs (such as legal and medical) are obviously recognised but very much within the framework of a routine approach.

> "They aimed to get the man back into the Welfare System not much more - sometimes achieved more but were satisfied with first goal. Good spin offs for the men - could get de-loused, generally cleaned up, medical attention of all kinds, sort out legal and matrimonial problems, fines &c."

Security was assured for the workers.

Within the Social Services, the workers experienced both the positive and negative sides of the organisation. Formal rules and regulations, governing allocation of telephones for example, are laid down from above, but there still remains a far greater degree of independent

action open to workers when dealing with clients. Rules did lead to frustration, and their inflexibility was to the detriment of some clients, but it has to be argued too that some relatively efficient means of administering scarce resources (like telephones) needs to be developed.

Amongst the Sisters as we have seen a very unusual situation prevails. I have already stressed the community aspects of their organisation, extending far beyond the mere name. However, they are themselves part of what must be acknowledged to be a highly bureaucratised and hierarch -ical institution, namely the Roman Catholic Church. Their own Religious Community's structure is hierarchical, despite recent innovations, and is governed by formal rules - more specifically The Rule. Clark has this to say on the importance of The Rule

> "One important factor relating to the total organization of any community is the extent and nature of the rule of life it draws up for itself. The 'contract' can vary from very detailed and explicit to vague and ill defined. The rule has always been the cornerstone of monastic life and even in recent times Knowles could write: 'A rule, approved by both authority and the experience of good men, is a necessary safeguard, and this rule must be observed, not with antiquarian or pharisaical precision, but with a faithfulness that maintains its character as an instrument of perfection. If the rule is kept faithfully, in the spirit in which it was composed, all will be well; if it is not kept, individuals may fare well, but the security of a firm standard has gone."
>
> (Clark,1977, 29)

Perhaps this attitude to The Rule is sufficient explanation as to why the Sisters remain unaffected by the bureau-cratic elements within their own organisation. The emphasis on how they are to serve is expressed in essentially non-bureaucratic terms. Thus community and bureaucracy coexist.

The Salvation Army too displays a range of organisation. They, with their military model, cannot fail to be hier-archical and in most senses of the word, bureaucratised. This their Founder envisaged as the most efficient way of achieving their task - the evangelisation of souls. It has been suggested that General Booth modelled his Army not on the military per se but on the Papacy! (Robertson 1965) Many would criticise their inflexibility and a too regimented way of dealing with clients. It is difficult to substantiate or dispute this particular claim on the

basis of my own empirical data, but it is certainly possible to say that a very different ethos prevailed amongst the Salvation Army and the Sisters. Yet the Army could lay claim to the same communitarian features of the Pauline theology of the Body of Christ as did the Sisters.

What we see then is a mixed picture - elements of community and of bureaucracy. Clearly an incontrovertible argument for the use of more than one model of organisational analysis.

Community and Bureaucracy

In some ways community and bureaucracy are seen as the antithesis of each other, but although an element of polarisation is inevitable, I would wish to stress always the context in which they are being discussed. Arguably community has most to offer to helping professions where the needs and problems of people are foremost, and to the inner needs of all men.

> "In a community, so it might be said, a man is and feels an integral part of an overall way of life, he is not conscious of a division between his own attitudes to the community and the way in which that community organises and articulates its life. He is in a full sense a Member of the community. However, the argument would continue, with the development of the industrial revolution, political, economic and social power has become increasingly centralised and in consequence men have come to feel less and less at home in the social world; they have become estranged from that social world in which they live, move and have their being."
> (Plant, 1974, 19)

Plant continues

> "the State cannot provide the individual the sense of rootedness and security which he needs because, 'by its very nature it is too large, too complex and altogether too aloof from the residual meanings which human beings live by' (Nisbet). Only some rediscovered reality of community in modern life will be able to provide the recognition, fellowship, security and membership which all men crave. This way of thinking about community, although it has deep historical roots, is still central."
> (Plant, 1974, 21)

Rather than leave the discussion on a theoretical level, it is helpful to look now at two examples where the emphasis on community or bureaucracy produce different consequences at a practical level. I intend to look first at the issue of power and authority and then at the use made of volunteers by the groups.

(i) Power and Authority

Weber's original study of bureaucracy was set in the context of a wider study of authority in society, and an important aspect of the organisational forms of the four groups was their relationship to power and authority.

Several questions need to be asked. What authority did they have, as individuals or as a group? How was this authority legitimated? What power did they possess, for example in regard to the control and allocation of resources? What was their relationship to other agencies?

It has already been suggested that the power relationships displayed in the work situation could be analysed in terms of lateral (i.e., worker to colleague), subordinate (i.e., worker to organisation and hierarchy) and superordinate (i.e., worker to client). Once again it is helpful to view each group in turn.

The Sisters as part of an hierarchically structured organisation, despite its community orientation, had a clear chain of authority. This line of Local Superiors, Provincial Superiors and Mother General, were assisted at each point by elected Councils. Power to make decisions resided ultimately in the General Chapter of the Congregation. Jurisdiction over certain issues was clearly allocated to a specific level, for example the Provincial decided on the moves that Sisters should make. However, perhaps the most significant point, and the most surprising, was that the general impression was that there was little immediate pressure from the hierarchy.

In recent years the manner of addressing Superiors has been altered - in the past they were distinguished by being addressed as Mother. Such status differentiation and re-inforcement has now gone, only returning with a slip of the tongue from older Sisters. On the several occasions when I was able to meet both the Provincial and the Sisters together - the relationships appeared relaxed and easygoing.

> "Shortly the Provincial (Sr Y) joined us with another quite young Sister. Atmosphere very relaxed and friendly - even quite a lot of larking around. No particular problem of hierarchical relationships - I gather this is a new move. In past known as Mother Provincial."

This is not to give the impression, however, that orders were not made and accepted within the structure. In fact the Sisters were the most restrained by rules and

orders imposed from above, but in their <u>perception</u> this was both legitimate and acceptable. This stems from their common vow of Obedience - ultimately to God, but also to their Superiors. Another point which should be made is that Superiors were promoted and demoted i.e., just because you were a superior once did not necessarily mean that you would always be one.

So authority resided in their Vow of Obedience, their very membership of the Community and also in The Rule. Michael Hill has this to say of the function of The Rule in his book The Religious Order.

> "The crucial link between the church and the religious order is the Rule. The Rule of any order is an important nexus of authority because it regulates the internal organization of the group but it derives its legitimacy externally, from the Church, which plays an important part in framing the constitutional blueprint."
> (Hill, 1973, 24)

So again we are taken out of the immediate structure of the community to the wider one of the Roman Catholic Church. Authority is vested in the Pope, Bishops and Priests of the Church through their ordination, consecration and installation, and is derived from God.

But two different forms of authority in the Church are recognisable - as by Cardinal Alfrink (a Dutch Primate). As Hebblethwaite tells us he

> "contrasted two views of authority in the Church: the dominating view of authority, which he held to be a thing of the past, and the dialogal approach, which he continued to hope would be the path of the future. This recalled Erich Fromm's distinction between inhibiting authority, which knows best and represses, and rational authority, which is self-authenticating and releasing."
> (Hebblethwaite, 1975, 49)

This is precisely the situation described by Kokosalakis.

> In the past rigid adherence to the dogmas and tenets of the faith was expected of the laity, but since Vatican II the situation is changing. N. Kokosalakis in an extremely interesting article entitled "Aspects of Conflict between the Structure of Authority and the Beliefs of the Laity in the Roman Catholic Church" examines two hypotheses
>
> (a) "That there is a great disparity between the structure of authority and actual loyalty to this authority by the members of this religious body
>
> and (b) That the gap is much wider and the conflict much more acutely felt by those who have been brought up and educated in the post-war

society than in pre-war generations."
(Kokosalakis, 1971, 21/2).

Of the historical situation he says

> "For the Roman Catholic community, religion was always the most important factor of solidarity and a rich source from which its members drew immense strength. The authority of the church, the dogmas and all the practices which went with them were fully acknowledged by the Roman Catholic adherents because they were so very meaningful to their immediate life and social experience. The authority of the church was fully accepted as of divine origin, therefore, there could be no internal conflict between that authority and the private lives, beliefs and experiences of the adherents."
> (Kokosalakis, 1971, 22/3).

But what of the present?

> "It is common knowledge that Roman Catholics as a whole in Britain - and perhaps all over the world - have departed considerably from many traditional beliefs and practices of Roman Catholicism as it has been known in the past. As a result of this departure from the rigidity of traditional rules, a conflict has come about which is predominately exemplified in the area of authority in the church. During the present century, and especially during the last twenty years, there has developed, mainly through the laity, quite a new understanding of the concept of authority. In this new situation, instead of accepting authority as a set of rules and doctrines embodied in canon law, which is not to be questioned, fundamental emphasis is placed on human interpersonal relationships and on freedom of conscience. This new emphasis on personal conscience as the arbiter of any external source of authority, including that of religion as propogated by the hierarchies of religious institutions, has had tremendous repercussions on the structure of authority in the Roman Catholic Church. Above all, this notion seems to be in conflict with any type of dictatorial or juridical understanding of authority in religion."
> (Kokosalakis, 1971, 23/4)

For many of the laity, the distinction between infallible Papal pronouncements of doctrine and matters of discipline which can and do vary at different places and times is not maintained. Most pronouncements are held to be authoratative statements. But as we have seen this situation is being challenged. For the Sisters though, belonging to the 'old school', the former kind of authority in most instances remained unchallenged.

Kokosalakis sums up by saying

> "From what has been said it can be easily inferred that in the Roman Catholic Church the type of authority which has previously derived its content and strength from a Tridentine and post-Tridentine

> theology is seriously shaken and can no longer be fully operative. This type of authority was functional when and where social and ideological conditions fostered it. In contemporary western society, however, where these ideological conditions have ceased to exist, this type of authority is in conflict with the personal beliefs of the laity. In certain areas, especially where authority affects the personal lives of the adherents the conflict is acute. In other areas, where the laity can afford it, they make up their own minds and ignore the precepts of authority... It is not in any way clear what type of authority could replace the old one, but a more democratic type and less centralized structure than the present one might fit better with the values of the wider society."
>
> (Kokosalakis, 1971, 33/4).

It is also interesting to reflect on a point made by Gramsci in his Prison Notebooks

> "The strength of religions, and of the Catholic Church in particular, has lain, and still lies in the fact that they feel very strongly the need for the doctrinal unity of the whole mass of the faithful and strive to ensure that the higher intellectual stratum does not get separated from the lower. The Roman Church has always been the most vigorous in the struggle to prevent the "official" formation of two religions, one for the 'intellectuals' and the other for the 'simple souls.'
>
> (Gramsci, 1971, 328)

I would suggest, like Kokosalakis, that a rift <u>is</u> occurring between the Magesterium and the ordinary layfolk, but that despite Gramsci's remarks there is a growing distinction between the attitudes of different sectors of the laity. Some will feel able to challenge the old model of authority, others will not, and education may well help place people in the former group.

So it can be conjectured that while still standing firm today, the Sisters of tomorrow may be forced to review their blind acceptance of authority. Indeed some communities have already addressed this problem, and it is appropriate to quote here an interesting definition of just what is meant by power structure in the context of Religious.

> "1. Power structure refers to control in a group which may be:
>
> (a) formal structure, official government such as the general council and superiors;
> (b) informal or implicit structures which develop and do not necessarily accord with the formal structure. In any structure there is informal power, persons who by their personality, age, education exercise power over the group.

2. Power structure includes the power of each person to be. How does the formal structure relate to the power of the person?

   (a) Power structure must function in a way which gives direction to the person's power-to-be by channeling it along lines which further the explicit aims of the group. This makes the power more effective, for within the direction chosen, the person can develop.
   (b) The formal structure protects the power of the person. Sometimes we hear: Get rid of all formal structures and just live according to your own lights. While there is some basis for the direction of this statement, it suffers from the mistaken assumption that we could live in a structureless group. Man's presence to the world is structures. Because we cannot be totally present to all things in all ways at any one time, we have to structure our presence to the world. We cannot be present in any other way."
   (Parsons and Dunleary, 1968, 133)

This definition is particularly helpful in a number of ways - it stresses the necessity of structure <u>even</u> within community, it also widens the concept of power to include this all important idea of 'power-to-be', and reminds us once more of the balance between formal and informal structures.

Before leaving this consideration of the Sisters, the question over their access to state resources needs answering. The first patient that I visited with the Sisters provides an excellent illustration of the difficulties that this very issue raises. Often they find themselves visiting or nursing patients who are still also officially on the rolls of the District Nurse, In this situation it is technically not their patient (even if the District Nurse is never much in evidence and they are actually doing the work). They could apparently contact the doctor if they thought it necessary but not very much else. At a later visit to the same patient I raised the question of supplies.

> "They are not eligible to receive any supplies in their own right. They have to rely on what is given to the patient by their doctor or what the district nurse makes available. They sometimes have to buy supplies of their own - to cover going into a house where their's is the only contact - but they soon arrange for the doctor etc., to make provision if possible. This is because of their voluntary status - and Sr A. admitted that this was a disadvantage but was not at all keen to be taken over or work directly for the State. (The same reasons as before - they have their timetable worked out for them and the personal touch is lost.) I queried whether they

should not be able to get a grant for example, while still retaining their voluntary status."

Their relationship with social workers seemed to be on a very pragmatic level. They were contacted by Social Services and asked to do work, and unless there were problems they worked parallel with other agencies with little liaison. Their main source of contact within theSocial Services seemed to be the Welfare Assistant.

Having discussed the role the Sisters were playing in the patient cited above - in fact one of the Welfare Assistant's cases too - we went on

I."How do you find they mix with this agency? They refer people to you or...?
WA. They do with me, they put.. you see I've got to know them from there (yes) or they've got to know me as dealing with the elderly. Now if they ring up here they'll ring up for Mrs. W. because they know me dealing with the elderly and they seem to think I deal with ... well I do mostly but ... they still think they'll get through to me."

The Salvation Army too drew their ultimate authority for their work from God and the Christian Duty to love one's neighbour and to care for those in need. They also have gained societal approval for their work - particularly in this sphere of the single homeless. Often statutory funds are made available for hostels to be built, which they subsequently run.

I want to emphasise two points in particular - that of the autonomy of each Manager and the Sanctions they have available to them. On my last visit to the Hostel, to collect the Diary, the issue of autonomy was raised.

"The other aspect I was interested in was the amount of autonomy he had. Certain rules were laid down nationally - no drink, no gambling, i.e., nothing that would conflict with S.A. principles. But after that left to local level."

"He admitted that Orders were issued to admit 'Whosoever Comes' but that this was all right for them to say but they did not have to implement it, and he didn't conceal that he made his own decisions. If H.Q. didn't approve of the way he ran the hostel it was up to them to move him."

This went a long way to explaining why hostels up and down the country vary so much - obviously much depends on the personality of the Manager!

The Salvation Army Officer then has his own religious rules to obey - in the shape of Salvation Army Principles and Orders issued by the hierarchy of his sect and rules and regulations for officers. The latter as we

have seen are open to re-interpretation it seems. Obedience is not as total as with the Sisters.

Authority and power resides with the rank of the Officer and his position within the hierarchical structure. They do have external Advisory Bodies though.

> "There is an Advisory Board to the Corp not just the hostel, consisting of prominent people in the town, but he implied that even if they made recommendations they were rarely acted upon! There are 47 boards in the country."
>
> (Diary p.61 24.5.77)

Each Officer on Duty has the power to refuse a man entry, although I am not sure if the power to ban resides only with the Manager. This sanction of no entry is the most 'powerful', but loses much of its impact, I feel, when the very reasons a man is barred for make it likely that he would prefer to be elsewhere than a Salvation Army Hostel anyway! - for example being drunk.

The only other sanction that I saw overtly acknowledged was that of the Manager's prerogative to allocate the single rooms.

> "I was then shown one of the 45 bedrooms (private). These were given to staff (of which there were 15) and then at the discretion of Captain P. I asked whether this caused difficulties and he openly admitted that they were used as a sanction. If a man with a private room misbehaved - he didn't elaborate in what way - then he was returned to the dormitory."

In terms of resources, they could refer to other agencies. They also received a large quantity of items, donated by various people, often for charitable reasons.

Although invited to joint meetings with other bodies working in the same field, for the most part there seemed an uneasy relationship existing between the Salvation Army and others. Referrals were made and received with the Statutory Agencies of Probation and the Social Services, but there seemed misinterpretation of appropriate roles on both sides. One instance was outlined in the diary -

> "Spoke with policeman bringing in a very drunken man; declined to allow him in as he is here on personal assurance from Probation Officer that he will stay sober. Was previously put out for bringing in alcohol, and was told that this was his last chance. He's blown it!"

Neither were relationships with voluntary agencies any smoother!

> "Phone call from Day Shelter asking for furniture for man who has found an unfurnished room. Advised them that the man must come here himself. (We get a lot of calls from other agencies speaking for men. I think that sometimes they think that they have only to rub the lamp and I will act as the genie and give everything they want. I usually advise them that we haven't opened branch offices so please send the man along.)"

But what of the Army's secular counterpart - the Reception Centre? Here was a clear example of a bureaucracy, whose authority was legitimated by statutory rules and regulations. What Weber describes as rational - legal authority, as opposed to traditional and charismatic.

> "In terms of obedience, in the case of legal authority it is owed to the legally established impersonal order. It extends to the persons exercising the authority of the office under it only by virtue of the formal legality of their commands and only within the scope of the office. The legitimation of authority is then firmly attached to the structural dynamics of the organisation not to any person as an individual."
>
> (Extract from Unpublished Seminar Paper 8.3.78 by Clive Brooks).

The Reception Centre had two well defined functions. It was there specifically to help people of 'an unsettled way of life' to become more settled - not there just as accommodation. They were permitted to provide accommodation facilities as a means of encouraging a more settled way of life - not the other way round. The second function was that of a Day Re-establishment Centre, which took local men in an attempt to establish a work pattern after long periods of unemployment.

> "Regulations laid down by Statute - a Manager could add his own - his only addition was that the man must behave reasonably. Rules - had to submit to a bath, medical examination, clothing inspection, no drinking (and weren't admitted if too drunk) and had to agree to work until 11.am the next day on some task involved in the running of the place - effectively gardening and cleaning."

It seemed therefore that there was some element of discretion but this was minimal in practice. Authority was also derived from DHSS Circulars issued from time to time.

The right to ask questions before allowing the man to enter is also present - Is a person without a settled way of life?; Should he be somewhere else?

The Role of the Manager is indicative of where power really resides - he is there to implement legislation.

> "He spends his time being a civil servant. The manager's role is to establish the climate and style of work. Policy is determined by Government with little room for change. He is there to oil the wheels and have oversight of everything. Really it runs as 3 self-contained units - he is removed from the men."

Although removed from the men, he does still act as a point of appeal. It was obvious though from discussions with other workers in the area, that his Deputy was pursuing a very different line in regard to men's right of entry. This perhaps highlights that rules and regulations still <u>are</u> open to differing interpretation, affected by the personal philosophy of the person in control.

Again it is useful to examine the sanctions employed -

> "I had asked earlier on what happened if a man refused to perform his task. In theory they can prosecute - either if he doesn't work or if work not done to satisfaction. Fine or jail is outcome. They recognised that it was a waste of time to force men - he seemed to think that although they may have lead the field in this view, most centres had gone towards this. The most important sanction he said was 'almost not open to us' - i.e., you can't come in again. In all the time the Centre had been opened only 1 man banned and even he is not 100% banned.
> It is a question of expedience - they use the threat in extreme cases that might be banned. He claimed this was the only thing they take notice of. When I suggested they had got past the point of compulsion - he agreed."

The major sanction was thus - you may jeopardise your chance to get in again.

In relation to other agencies, the Manager's personal view was

> "that he would have expected the voluntary bodies to be using them more and the reasons he thought they didn't included - the voluntary bodies think we're a waste of time, they are prejudiced against us, they want to continue their own empire building."

> "They are at the bottom of the established Government Social Structure, but he recognised that one system of dealing with the problem not enough. Sees Centre as <u>part</u> of system, providing the State bit, and sees the place for alternatives. These have got to be voluntary if rejecting the civil service bit."

One other source of power, within the Reception Centre, was the Unions.

> "Normally good relations with Union but they were quite powerful in the sense of insisting that they be consulted - could have power to vetoe a project such as mine - I would be seen as spy!"

The picture therefore is one of clear chain of authority, with power to make decisions allotted to different levels (e.g., the E.O. decided how much a man should contribute).

Finally, the Social Services Department. By far the most interesting material related to the position of the Welfare Assistant. Almost at the bottom of the hierarchical pyramid, she should have been carefully supervised, accompanied to Case Conferences and her Reports checked. Reality was rather different - as in other instances - rule breaking seemed quite accepted.

Reports were indeed 'O.K'd' by the District Manager, but supervision and attendance at Case Conferences were not so evident.

> "She also used to have supervision once a week with the D.M. - but now 'I don't have time for that'. How much this is in fact the case - or whether the disinclination lies more on the side of the D.M. Apparently a Senior is supposed to accompany W to Case Conferences with regard to admissions to elderly people's homes on a permanent basis. Quite often she goes on her own - and even if he does go, he says very little. T.N. I detected an element of pride and satisfaction that she was trusted to work on her own - a very natural response".

Occasional checks were made on the Welfare Assistant's work, and in fact all closed files went through the District Manager, but she was apparently still left with a considerable degree of autonomy. This autonomy was particularly evident in regard to which CSBPA referrals were pushed forward -

> "It seems that W has a fair amount of power in terms of sifting referrals - in terms of assessing suitability for pursuing an application."

Authority with regards work distribution was quite revealing too. The lines of work allocation were normally quite straightforward, via Intake Team to W.A's and N.A's or direct from D.M. Also from Social Workers to N.A's and from W.A. to N.A's. However trouble seemed to arise from the VHO attempting to allocate tasks - particularly to the female N.A. I suspected that if similar tasks had been put forward by W.A. they would have met with a better reception. Acceptability of work depends therefore on the source not type of task necessarily.

The element of rule breaking was referred to earlier.

Who decides and on what criteria are rules breakable or not? One criteria seemed to be pragmatism - speed, and making life easier. Job demarcation (if mutually acceptable) seems to be one area where rule breaking is tolerated and even encouraged.

> "There is also a very interesting teaching/ supervisory role going on between the W.A. and the N.A.(female). The latter was briefed about visits and given suggestions of tactics and it was obvious that it was to the W.A. that she looked for support.
>
> T.N.I wondered how much this informal teaching role was acknowledged in the office and in the Dept.?"

It was difficult to determine whether this particular role, noted above, was unique or universal within the Department.

Supervision throughout the office seemed fairly informal - you asked for it if you wanted it. The teaching/ supervision role, interestingly, would not seem to apply within the Community though. One Sister explained to me that even as a Novice, your work was not supervised, (in the same sense as in Social Services), although the rest of one's Formation was. Is there a link up between supervision and degree of accountability? Thus, does the distinction reflect the statutory/voluntary split?

Disobedience within the Department risked censure, but rarely would lead to dismissal. It is perhaps worth noting that in contrast to the Sisters, where disobedience was intrinsically sinful (i.e., Sisters felt guilty of wrongdoing whether discovered or not), within Social Services it was detection of disobedience which promoted discomfort! Also a rather different value system operated in that one might suppose that being rude to a client would engender considerable criticism and rebuke amongst the Sisters, whereas 'fiddling' the petty cash would be <u>the</u> crime within the Department.

In another section we have already referred to the constraints placed upon the VHO in terms of what she was permitted to do or not to do. So there were limits.

What sanctions existed in relation to clients? This seemed to be confined to differential treatment of clients in respect of access to resources. Within any organisation which controls resources, if there are discretionary benefits, if time is allocated on the basis of individual workers'priorities, if resources are scarce - there are

bound to be injustices and unfair distribution of goods and manpower. Social Workers, and indeed Welfare Assistants, did have power over people's lives, they had control of services that their clients wanted. Though people could refuse them entry (unless under statutory rights related to Child Care and Mental Health they had no option), they rarely would, and they allowed themselves to be questioned on very personal matters.

There are therefore both internal and external aspects to the concepts of power and authority - those amongst the group's own membership and that in relation to outsiders or clients. Community and Bureaucracy, as differing organisational forms, thus had different consequences for issues of power and authority.

It is perhaps salutary to conclude this example by reminding ourselves of the economic and political powerlessness of the clients, particularly the elderly and the single homeless. Power in this case could be interpreted as getting people to make decisions they didn't wish to - for example going to a particular hostel for the single homeless. Also (like other deprived groups such as single parent families) the single homeless are so occupied with just surviving that they are unable to engage in much political action on their own behalf - and so remain powerless. In many ways their very 'power-to-be' is damaged.

(ii) <u>The Use of Volunteers.</u>

A further differentiating point between the four groups was the way in which they related to volunteers. Referring to the data, by far the largest user of volunteers was the Social Services Department, while the Sisters - themselves performing the role of volunteers within a voluntary organisation - rarely involved community volunteers in their work. Within both the Salvation Army Hostel and the Reception Centre the potential of volunteers was touched on, but the way in which this was done, in itself, indicated the relatively low priority or practicality of such an idea.

Each area of the Social Services Department under study had a Voluntary Help Organiser in post. These VHO's were placed in one district but were expected to cover the

whole area (i.e., 4 district teams). This immediately led to an uneven coverage, recruitment and involvement of volunteers, for the VHO saw her first priority as being to her immediate team and locality.

> "The VHO received a telephone request for transport from the Senior .....Transport requests are apparently becoming more frequent from him. However, I still get the impression that most of the work is being done in the immediate area and very little in the rest of the ..... Area."

Despite the structure being present, Departmental use of volunteers was still a contentious area.

> "It was interesting to hear that the VHO saw the Neighbourhood Aid Scheme very much as a forerunner to getting social workers to utilise volunteers."

This said quite a lot about how she saw both volunteers and Neighbourhood Aids:

Volunteers, when used, were deployed over a fairly wide range of activities. At one end of the spectrum there were the very traditional roles of visiting the elderly, decorating, provision of transport to the much more modern approach of involving people with a knowledge of welfare rights.

During the research period the VHO's relationship with the team seemed to change, and from a very negative stance she moved on to developing a more comprehensive volunteer scheme for them.

> "There had also been a District Meeting yesterday - I really should have been there! Z (VHO) talked about the reaction she got to her outpourings to the team re volunteers - she was feeling very positive now and felt she was getting team support, something she had never experienced before.
> T.N. Z seems to have swung in the opposite direction this week - the team are now the good ones and the past experience she had is seen more negatively...."
>
> The upshot of the meeting was that she should go ahead and recruit about 12 volunteers to work closely with the team (rather on the same lines as Probation). There would not be a public meeting but some publicity in the Library. The N.A (female) had apparently suggested posters in the Employment Exchange - Z thought this a good idea but reflected that perhaps that sort of thing should come from a city wide campaign not just one team."

However, such a scheme was not without its own difficulties, due to the very different images circulating about what a volunteer was or should be like.

"Z then launched on to a whole discussion re advertising and recruiting - she was very caustic about a poster prepared by one of the other VHO's. She claimed that the District Manager & Senior Caseworker had been equally anti it. Z seemed very much trying to get me to come out on one side or the other and I tried some evasive tactics - such as pointing out that it all depended on the type of person you envisaged as your volunteer. That particular poster - while not everyone's cup of tea - was probably consistent with a certain philosophy about volunteers. Z also showed me some Age Concern posters that she is considering using for her recruitment drive for volunteers for the team...."

Due also to this particular Local Authority pursuing a policy of keeping volunteers to their own area, a somewhat 'deprived' area like this, will necessarily have a different 'type' of volunteer.

"Z also talked about the 'cream' of the volunteers already being tied in with other bodies, particularly hospitals."

I myself was to see the contrast between a hospital Voluntary Help Organiser and the Department's, when we took an elderly lady to share her husband's birthday party at the Hospital.

"We waited until he was brought to join his wife and then left the ward to have their party. The Voluntary Help Organiser of the Hospital popped in to see him. A very different style of voluntary work!"

The Neighbourhood Aids were in many ways performing tasks that could also have been allotted to volunteers. One of the Aids had considered becoming involved in voluntary work prior to being recruited by the Department, and this seemed a logical progression for her to make. The other had been involved. Their style of operation was also similar - a friendly informal approach - signifying a non-professional, almost non-official relationship.

During the interview with the female Neighbourhood Aid she had this to say about voluntary work.

"I. From the point of view of voluntary work, you've got some volunteers now working in the Department (Yes) Why do you think that people do voluntary social work?

N.A. Voluntary Social Work - uhm. I suppose it is because its more of a friendlier service than being like "I'm from the Civil Service" or "I'm from Social Ser..." even Social Services I suppose can seem a bit frightening to some people, and uh being just another person working in a factory

and doing voluntary work and going to see an old lady, I suppose it's much nicer to them because they know they're not from some authority and they're being paid for it as it were and they have to be taught how to say things to people. I think in a way sometimes that frightens people, you know, uhm, because I haven't had any education in that way so I just talk to them like another human being and I think in a way with all this training - I know in some ways it must be good - in other ways it's a bit frightening to people, because they've drilled into them what procedures to go through first of all etc etc, and some times it can even be drilled into them what words to use to people you know (...) With voluntary work they've got no training just the same as me - so perhaps it's more friendly to them, you know.When I was unemployed I was just getting around to the way of thinking about doing voluntary work and this job just came along you know in time. I was thinking about going to an elderly lady I know down the road and cooking her meal or something. Because I was getting so frustrated being at home, but I didn't ....I didn't know about voluntary work. I didn't know to contact Social Services or anything."

This section has been quoted extensively for it is a rich source of both people's perception of voluntary work, the motivation of volunteers and the close identification of untrained amateurs, as opposed to trained professionals, with the provision of a 'friendlier service.' (As I was to hear from the Sisters - the fact they were voluntary, i.e., unpaid, was to them of crucial importance). Motivation was seen, from personal experience, often to be based on somewhat negative sources - unemployment, boredom, frustration. This was echoed by the other N.A.

"Int. Why do you think that people do voluntary social work? You've mentioned that you yourself did some.
N.A. Yea, because I think for some people it's the best way to spend your time. They have nothing else to do - they think, you know, why not go and help other people. And sometimes people don't have jobs so they think, why should we sort of sit there at home and do nothing. So they go and do... sort of help these different agencies.
Int. What about the people, other than the unemployed - who want to do voluntary social work - do you thinkthey do it other than just time filling?
N.A. Well, they want to sort of meet different people, you know, people want to sort of meet different people and talk to them and get their opinion and see how they live their life...."

Still, discussing motivation of volunteers - a topic which rouses a great deal of emotion in some professionals - the VHO, while subscribing to the same views expressed by the Neighbourhood Aids, felt that this should not be placed under too close a scrutiny.

"Int.Why do you think that people do voluntary social work?

VHO.A lot of them it's boredom - they like to be needed makes them feel good. Personally I don't really much care about the motivation, uhm, obviously I suppose if it's too outrageous then you've got to look at it a bit, but as long as they're coming forward I don't look at it too closely.I can assume that they're very lonely because they're recently widowed or you know have got time on their hands for whatever reason and (pause) I think...I think it's unfair to try and pin people down as to why, because looking back I'm not sure that I knew why originally, except that I was dissatisfied with my own life at that time and I needed something to latch on to - it was as vague and nebulous as that (yes), and I think for most people it is and they're not articulate enough to even express that. You know they can't really tell you why. uhm.."

The Welfare Assistant was, herself, not so enthusiastic about volunteers. The elderly, she felt, resisted volunteers, but it was difficult to estimate whether this reaction was due mainly to an unconscious feeling of her own status being de-valued or undermined.

"Int. Do they ever comment on the difference, say between you and perhaps some volunteer that was called in?

W.A.Yes, I find that...I'm finding it difficult to get them to accept volunteers. They don't really want volunteers, you know, we've got Z now who keeps on chasing me up and I go round and I say 'Would you like me to get a volunteer to come in and see you and have a chat with you?' and most times, nine times out of ten they don't want it. (Oh). I can't understand why because (uhm) they want company but they don't seem... you know I'm ...I'm most surprised, I used to at one time, in fact when I first started asking them, I felt that they did but that seems to have changed, they don't seem to want volunteers, they want you to come in, and if you can't come in they don't want a volunteer."

She did however subscribe to the idea that clients could derive help from being volunteers. In response to my question about motivation she said

"I think they get benefit from it as well (uhm) I think that they're lonely perhaps themselves a lot of them, they don't quite know how - if they've got the spare time they don't quite know how to fill it and if they're genuine people they want to help (uhm) I think they get as much help out of being volunteers as the people that they got to see. A case in point is one of my volunteers who could be a client, but in fact she's a volunteer and she works with the elderly at the luncheon club you see (yes) and she sees me there."

I was given an insight too into the mixed role she played with this particular person when we both visited her.

> "Called on vol/client - she was much better. On the way W had explained that this visit was really off the records - she went if this volunteer (who is a pensioner in fact) was in need but she didn't keep casepapers or anything like that, because she somehow felt that it was wrong, she was more of a friend, even if she did have her own problems that could be defined in work terms."

Many of the specific tasks undertaken by volunteers could be documented from the empirical data, but I want to make one final remark only in this regard, that the tasks they undertook, either alone or in combination with a Neighbourhood Aid, were often those assigned by job description to the Welfare Assistant. This may indeed be the reason for the scepticism noted earlier:

> "One concrete dimension to her work has been the establishing of a list of drivers - she (i.e., the VHO) is putting in volunteers to do time consuming journeys which normally have been left to social workers. She claims that this is very successful."

> "T.N. This sounds like volunteers doing what W.A's were employed to do."

> "X mentioned that she had accompanied a volunteer on an escort of a 5 year old child from a foster home in ..... on Monday - she admitted that she wasn't all that comfortable with children of that age.
> T.N. I was interested in the combination of Volunteer and N.A. to do a task that would normally have been considered the province of a W.A. I wondered if it would have been different if W had not been on leave."

And after a day of fairly varied tasks the Welfare Assistant did in fact comment that she and the Neighbourhood Aid had done nothing that afternoon which a volunteer could not have done:

Ideologically, volunteers seem to be seen increasingly as a solution to the problem of scarce resources and manpower. The Welfare Assistant felt that it was wrong to rely on voluntary help in this way.

> "I. Would you see a need for more voluntary agencies in the field of social work?
> W.A. (Pause) I don't really think we should have to rely on voluntary work (uhm) I honestly feel that as... as a community, as a country, you know (yes) we should provide the services. I don't think that people should - all right if they want to do it as a friend (uhm) - but I don't think we should

> rely on volunteers (uhm). I think we should be able, when people have got a real need, like the elderly have got a real need and they want to be taken X club and this, I honestly don't think we should rely on volunteers. I think we should provide it, you know."

This represented one view, on the other hand, as we have already seen the Neighbourhood Aids were very much in favour of voluntary work. Understandably the VHO, too, could instance several areas where volunteers could profitably be used. So within the one Department there were still divergent views.

Turning to the Sisters, there is little that can appropriately be included in this section. As indicated at the beginning, they themselves were members of a voluntary organisation and due to the peculiar circumstance of Community were unpaid volunteers. They strongly wished to retain the freedom and independence that they associated with non-statutory involvement. They were also, for the most part, against such funding for a more complex reason than just maintaining their independence - as one Sister put it. She was against Government funding:

> "I think as long as we can manage and people wish to help us, because I think that - it may seem strange to you but I feel that they are receiving a blessing for helping us, it is their share in our work."

They felt that the fact that their work was voluntary (i.e., they were not paid) was much appreciated by their clients, and it was to this that one Sister attributed their help being sought rather than that of secular agencies.

> I think also because our work is voluntary - they know that we're doing this, this may not enter their heads, but (uhm) I think they have a vague sort of idea that we're doing it for the love of God and not for any, any temporal gain and uh I think this makes an impression on them."

However, these factors are discussed more fully elsewhere. The actual process of collecting contained a very important social aspect, that even many Sisters were slow to recognise fully.

In the field of the single homeless yet another picture emerged. Both the Reception Centre and the Salvation Army Hostel Manager did refer once to the use or potential use of volunteers, but it was certainly not a concept central to their policies or philosophies!

During my introductory session with the Reception

Centre Manager the following emerged-

> "Recognised the poverty of the life - very institutionalised - akin to prison. Social life at night particularly bad - T.V., a games room with Table Tennis etc., but TV watching main occupation. He had dreams of trying to arrange for Tea Ladies - volunteers - to come in and man a dry bar - but official rules and regulations made this a nigh on impossible dream."

Similarly with the Salvation Army

> "He pointed out that the men are used to being left on their own and don't particularly welcome interference. More practically it seemed that staff problems were a major deterrent to more things being done - in the evening officers are too tired to do much. He said they welcomed voluntary helpers in to befriend the men (rather than organise things) but a regular commitment was stressed. He didn't say how many volunteers did actually come."

I sensed from our discussion that there was some discrepancy between theory and practice, but I had obviously no way of confirming or denying this due to the kind of access I was permitted. There seemed only one other area in which volunteers appeared to be used, and that was as helpers at the Sales in the Family Centre, but no attention was drawn to this.

While initially it may appear an unsuitable point of comparison given the sparcity of material on three of the groups, this in itself makes it worthy of note. There are many other agencies particularly within the sphere of the single homeless who rely almost totally on voluntary help e.g., the Simon Community, the Cyrenians and St.Mungo's, so it cannot be accepted that such an approach is unworkable. Volunteers were therefore consciously excluded or minimally utilised, albeit in the one instance statutory regulations being the main stumbling block. Once more community and bureaucracy can be seen to have concrete implications for the groups concerned.

Implications of Community

What this Chapter has been doing is to demonstrate the implications of different organisational forms - namely community and bureaucracy - within the four social work groups studied. But what must not be minimised is the difficulty and real cost to people who adopt a community form of organisation.

> "One major problem which caring communities in particular face is the considerable confusion of objectives and thus of roles. A number of groups set out both to live together, with a close-knit communal life-style, as well as to undertake a demanding programme of service to others, either as individuals (sometimes through full-time paid work) or as a whole group. They find it extremely tough going to sustain both."
>
> "It seems, in fact, that it is very hard to combine in one place a very demanding corporate caring (as opposed, for example, to teaching) ministry with a demanding form of communal living; the one or the other tends to lose out."
>
> (Clark, 1977, 210)

Just because the example taken was a group of Religious this does not make their situation any easier. Caring <u>is</u> very exhausting, and while potentially strengthening the ability to care living in community has its own demands to make. All I wish to highlight is that due recognition should be given to those attempting to be caring communities.

Throughout their history Communities have been put forward as an alternative, and often a radical one, to existing societal structures. Seed refers to the well-known Simon Community, whose founder Anton Wallich-Clifford only died in August 1978, saying:

> "The Simon Community was not only a means of assisting alcoholics and other social misfits in the welfare state; it was seen by its members as demonstrating a process of personal involvement and identification with human need. In so doing, it was suggestive of the possibility of an alternative society."
>
> (Seed, 1973, 88)

Was not this just what in some ways the Religious Orders so much earlier had been attempting?

Communities tend to be normative organisations - that is those whose control is based on appeals to personal or professional values. This is to be contrasted with either coercive ones where control is exercised predominantly by force, or more usually by utilitarian ones where control depends on remuneration offered to those who comply (Etzioni, 1975). Often Christian values, or at least values inspired by Christian beliefs, are inherent in group membership. While organisational form is, as I have stressed, all important to the understanding of the experience of those doing social work,

values must not be neglected.

> "Values are an element of organisational life which members may bring with them as individuals; or which may be shared by peer groups, or by members of particular sub-systems; or which may 'belong' to the organisation itself to the extent that membership of the organisation demands acceptance of them. The general point to be made .... is that they (i.e., values) are as much a factor to be reckoned with as are technologies or environment or any of the other aspects of organisation which have been identified so far."
> (Warham, 1977, 86)

Thus the emphasis that has been placed on the various ideologies of the groups, in Chapter 4.

There is some danger that caring communities can focus attention so much on the needs of the individual (be he homeless, handicapped or elderly) that little attention is given

> "to pressing for social and political reforms to make such work less necessary. It is a feature of caring groups sponsored by or associated with the Church that they are rarely found taking a strong line in the name of social reform, at national but particularly at local level."
> (Clark, 1977, 213)

This is just the dilemma of achieving both philanthropy and social justice that Niebuhr talked about (See Ch3. p3.64). Caring communities are caught at the very intersection of Church and State, as Clark points out

> "Part of the dilemma is not too hard to spot, for as soon as a strong political leaning emerges in caring groups, above all towards the political left...the institutional Church is quick to see a potential threat to the status quo and seeks to avert it either by open disapproval or by a quiet withdrawal of support and a policy of isolating the offending part."
>
> "Those working in the field of alternative welfare and caring provision thus walk the tight-rope between becoming so much a part of the Establishment, of State or Church, that they are gradually moulded by and absorbed into it, or becoming such a nuisance that they are effectively silenced.
> (Clark, 1977, 214)

So Community is IT

Led through this examination of the organisational forms of the four groups, I was coming closer to the realisation that much of what I had learned from the research centred around the experience of the Sisters in their Community, and how that made them different from any of the other three.

With an upsurge in the popularity of the idea of 'community', it is important to stress that this finding is not the result of a sentimental return to the past. The archetypal village community has been somewhat unrealistically eulogised in the literature - the loss of privacy and the higher degree of interference in one's personal life is quite often forgotten. What we have been examining here is something intrinsically different, grounded in the subjective experience of its members. It is a form of organisation, retaining in this instance a hierarchical structure, yet possessing certain characteristics which over-ride all other features of that structure. What ultimately distinguished the Sisters from all other groups was 'community' - the sense of solidarity and support, and the sense of significance and purpose to which Clark refers. They clearly knew why they were engaged in the kind of work they were doing, they were supported in this difficult form of service by the fellow community members, their clients were absorbed into the friendship and concern of the group, and their flexibility and availability as a collective, rather than individuals, was of enormous benefit to those they served.

S E C T I O N D

Introduction to Section D

Necessarily the main aim of the final section is to draw together those findings already reported (both implicitly and explicitly), and to comment upon them. Together with this, the implications for future research and practice with pointers for areas of future research are presented.

In Chapter Eight 'Epilogue', as in Chapter Two, the difficulties that the very methodology imposes on the writing up of results is first discussed. Then a variety of meansof conveying the findings are explored in a section entitled 'Ways of Concluding'. Summaries provide a resume of what each group was found to be like, for nowhere else has this information been drawn together as related to the four institutions. Following this two examples of continua give the reader some indication of the relationship of the four groups to each other. Such polarities as voluntary-statutory and community-bureaucracy are here examined. Next I turn to the fact that the hypothesis implicitly within the very selection of the groups, i.e., that religious organisations would necessarily be different from their secular counterparts in the type of service they provided, proved to be invalid. This naturally leads into a discussion related to the distinction between objective labels and subjective experience, and what really influences clients in their potential choice of organisation. A number of further discovered variables are then presented, too numerous to detail here. Finally, the over-riding discovery is highlighted - the centrality of community in distinguishing one form of social work provision from another, and the importance of the context of social work.

The second section of Chapter Eight is a discussion of the implications, both for research and practice, of my research. Firstly, in relation to future research I consider what changes I would now make if I was doing the same research again. Several important implications directly related to the methodology are then explored. Secondly, in relation to future practice the implications focus very much on the issues of structure, ideology and community, and the environment of the carers. Vocation and its meaning today is discussed as related to the perception of work. The elderly

as a category of people most in need is highlighted, as is the factor of 'time' from the client's point of view. The chapter concludes with some ideas as to the direction that future research might take, and answers the question "What Next?", not least in regard to the vital necessity of making research accessible not only to academics but also to practitioners.

CHAPTER EIGHT : EPILOGUE

Problems of Concluding Generated Theory.

As I have tried to make very clear throughout the thesis, the very methodology that I adopted has considerably influenced the way in which the research has been written up. This is no less true of the conclusions. Two factors in particular require stressing, given their impact on the conventional way of handling conclusions.

Firstly, a moving methodology such as I have advocated makes it almost contradictory to "conclude" the research in a definitive way. In effect one is stopping the process at a certain point, for practical reasons. Of necessity this means that whatever explanations are then made they must be viewed as contingent, for reality continues to move as does the process of understanding. Further empirical data that may have been revealed two days, two weeks, two years later, may give rise to different explanations. So to be true to my own methodology the "conclusions" must be viewed in this light. I am presenting my findings at a particular point in time, but the very artificiality of this cut-off point needs to be remembered.

Secondly, the methodology has not been based on the testing of hypotheses which naturally give rise to very definite conclusions of a positive ornegative kind. As this is the position, there are no neat conclusions available as such, and it becomes a far more difficult proposition to write about my findings. Inevitably, as the conclusions are not organised around specific hypotheses, not everything will be 'concluded' - for there are a vast range of points that can be made. In some measure, therefore, there is a sense of incompleteness about the "conclusions" that is difficult if not impossible to avoid. The "conclusions" presented within this Chapter are in themselves complete, but it is the chapter as a whole which inevitably brings about this sense of incompleteness. For example, I will conclude that "time" was a significant factor for clients and that they felt that they received more from the Sisters than other workers, which in turn tells us something about an area of potential change for Social Service Departments. This is a complete conclusion. What it is not possible to do is to offer "conclusions" covering every aspect researched of the experience of working in religious and secular groups. In

this sense they are incomplete.

With these two factors in mind, I intend to utilise a whole range of techniques for presenting the material which has emerged from the data, many of which are commonly found in everyday use. Such material naturally occurs at different levels of specificity, some related to one particular group, some to all groups and some at the higher level of formal or grand theory. Which particular level is involved will be indicated as the discussion proceeds. There is also an inevitable diversity given the comparative nature of the material.

From the variety of techniques available, I propose to use, those of summaries, continua, testing hypotheses, a 'multi-variable' approach and 'the reflective position of grand theory'. Each of these forms will be outlined in an introduction to the appropriate section. The diversity of material clearly indicates a similar diversity in the means by which it is conveyed to the reader.

Certain intellectual problems arise from the use of qualitative data, for words and language become paramount. They need to be dealt with at some length in order to be of any use, and it is not feasible to repeat a whole range of quotations in support of any "conclusions." The reader will therefore be referred back to the extensive material quoted in earlier chapters in support of the points made.

Finally, it should be understood that the initial focus of this chapter (Section I) is on presentations of facts, themes, theories which have been generated or have emerged from the empirical data. Discussion of the consequent implications for practice and policy (Section II) then follows, together with the considerable methodological implications for future research that this thesis has produced.

I. Ways of Concluding

(a) Summaries

The research has been concerned with comparisons of four very different groups. Up to this point, the empirical material has been presented around specific themes (for example work, clients and organisation) and nowhere has it been brought together. One of the simplest ways of now bringing it together is in the form of summaries. This is then the only occasion in which I conclude each group. This in itself presents a problem. There is an enormous amount of empirical data to summarise and any attempt will inevitably

produce a very concentrated description. The intensity of the summaries therefore necessitate that they are read <u>in conjunction</u> with the rest of the material.

They should be viewed as resumees of what, at different points throughout the thesis, has already been stated and well documented. They can thus serve as a reminder and form the basis for more detailed and extensive discussion of the points later in the chapter.

As these summaries are obviously derived from <u>all</u> the empirical data, it is difficult to actually pinpoint where each specific point is to be found in other chapters, and any system of referring the reader to appropriate chapters is both unhelpful and a distraction from the summary itself.

<u>(i) Roman Catholic Sisters</u>

The Sisters provide a very interesting example of a group within society, who whilst remaining within that society yet were also set apart. They were respected members of society, operating as a voluntary body with a strong internally consistent value system and ideology which directed their work. Their life style and work were totally integrated, and their was evidence of a 'wholeness' in their approach to life, what might be described as a kind of 'total gestalt', which clearly differentiated them from all the other workers. This wholeness was also reflected in their unfragmented approach to work - they did what needed to be done in the home, and were not bound by a rigid task definition of why they were there. Clients were treated as friends, and almost drawn up into the supportive network of 'community' which was so essential to the individual Sisters. Their clients had very high expectations of the Sisters and their work, both in physical and spiritual terms, and for the most part these expectations were met.

The Sisters were motivated by a very strong sense of vocation, or specific calling, both to their work and to the religious life, and they remained very aware of the religious elements within their work. Although, it should be made clear that this was never forced on clients. Change was related to theology and a certain structural/physical emphasis was present - thus change was related both to Vatican II and described in terms of Sisters moving from one branch house to another. To end with one further comment about their position in society, the Sisters were with few exceptions qualified

professionally as nurses but unqualified as social workers.

(ii) Salvation Army Hostel for Single Homeless Men.

The Salvation Army presents another example of a voluntary organisation providing essential social services, in a field where there is limited statutory involvement. As a recognised 'sect' within society, they occupied a respected status - though this could be differentiated from that of the Sisters. Officers were part of a clearly defined hierarchy within the sect, with its terminology adapted from military organisations. They were professional 'clergy' or ministers, but unqualified as social workers, in the instance that I studied. Though they were clearly aware of the religious element within their work, their sense of 'calling' appeared to be more related to their sect membership than to the actual work they were undertaking. Work and life could be described as semi-integrated, and in terms of the 'wholeness' referred to in relation to the Sisters, the Salvation Army can be seen as having a 'partial gestalt'. Their approach to work was of a more task oriented and therefore limited model, with clients relating to the Officer not as a minister but as a manager, despite attempts to create some sense of homely atmosphere. For the clients, they were a form of charity, in which their expectations were sometimes challenged.

In many of its facets the Salvation Army can be regarded as a 'half-way house', between the example of the Religious Order and secular bodies.

(iii) Social Services - Non-Qualified Staff

At the bottom of a hierarchically organised bureaucracy, the non-qualified workers which I observed found themselves non-professionals in a professional setting. As part of a statutory agency, they were structurally part of society and their Department was recognised as such.

> They were also affected by the fact that departmental policy attempted to involve volunteers within the work of this statutory agency, in particular the VHO, whose raison d'etre was volunteers.

I found no evidence of a sense of 'vocation' to their work, and, in keeping with this, life and work were completely segmented. Work was very much 'task oriented', with the limitations that this approach must inevitably bring.

These particular social services employees were aware that their inevitably secular orientation would and did

differ from that of religiously based organisations. They saw change most often in physical/structural terms rather than in theoretical; staff-turnover, change of office location, Seebohm re-organisation etc. In relation to clients, there was evidence of a tension which resulted from each worker wishing to relate to the person they were helping in an individual, personal way - more as a friend almost - yet having to remember that they were part of an official agency. This conflict was most clearly perceived by the Welfare Assistant and the Voluntary Help Organiser, whilst the youth and the relative inexperience of the two Neighbourhood Aids minimised their problem in this regard. From the clients' point of view, they came to the agency with very mixed expectations, which were not always met, and in many ways their expectations were governed by previous contact with particular workers.

(iv) Government Reception Centre for Single Homeless Men.

The Reception Centre was a Central Government Body administered by the civil service, whose functional approach to work was governed by legislation. They were an hierarchically organised bureaucracy, whose Senior posts were filled by professional civil servants not social workers. As a secular, statutory organisation, involving no volunteers, they were aware that religious organisations introduced an additional perspective to work in this field which they did not have. Again I discovered no sense of 'vocation', with life and work clearly segmented - work was 'a job', even though the workers had 'chosen' that branch of work. Clients expected a 'prison culture' - in fact this was often why they chose this particular form of help - and therefore the reality of a rigidly controlled and organised agency matched their expectations, so avoiding disenchantment with it.

(v) Commentary on Summaries.

No explicit comparisons will be drawn out from these summaries in this particular section of the chapter, for comparison is the whole aim of the rest of the chapter and has been both explicit and implicit in the presentation of data within themes earlier on. Comparison is being used to illuminate the differences, (as well as similarities) between the four groups in order to make sense of those differences that appear in their social work practice.

(b) Continua

It was not just an arbitrary choice which led me to write the preceding summaries in that particular order, nor just a tidy grouping of religious with religious, and secular with secular. In looking at ways of ordering material for this chapter, I was struck by the way that the four groups could be placed in the same order on particular continua. That order is reflected in the order of presentation of the summaries. However, before going on to examine more closely the various indices used, some explanation of the basic concept of a continuum is necessary, although it will be recognised that it is a technique which is commonly adopted.

A continuum provides a base line upon which a variety of subjects can be placed so as to indicate their relationship to one another. It provides a simple representation of differing degrees of attitude and position in relation to each other, and an index of simple comparability. As such it is in everyday use. There is an inherent acceptance of the idea of a sliding scale upon an unbroken line which connects two polarised positions. One is lead therefore to talk in terms of one thing being closer to one end or the other, rather than to a concern for a precisely defined position on the line. Most usefully it is the inter-relationship between items or groups that is displayed, according to a variety of indices.

It must be admitted, however, that to utilise the idea of a continuum in this particular piece of research is not altogether in keeping with the rest of my methodology. It therefore requires some explanation as to why I did so. Not only was I led by an almost unconscious need to order the material and to tidy things up intellectually, but the way in which the material had been collected necessarily forced it upon me. The aim had been to compare the four groups, but the way in which the material had to be collected made this comparison difficult. The choice made of collection methods was the only one open to me, I felt, in order to obtain the kind of material I wished - I therefore had to tackle the problem of constructing comparisons. One of the most formal ways of doing this is to construct continua. This is therefore what I did in an attempt to get back to my original aim of comparison.It may be that this is not the right emphasis to place on the data, or the most helpful, but it was a necessary stage, which nevertheless remains open to contradiction.

I have already referred in the text (Ch.7) to one index which could be utilised in this connection, namely community-bureaucracy. A further index of voluntary-statutory is also implicit in much of what I have said. These two major examples of continua obviously require detailed explanation, and the position of each group clearly evidenced from the data. I propose to deal with each in turn.

(i) Voluntary-Statutory

One of the most common distinctions that can be made between various organisations is their particular status vis a vis state provision. Two positions are clearly polarised - the statutory organisation, (set up, funded and administered by statutory agencies) and the voluntary organisation (set up, funded and administered by voluntary bodies). Immediately, one sees variations on these positions which would place them a little closer to their contrasting model. For example, many voluntary bodies rely heavily on funds from statutory sources to continue their work. However, one could posit a continuum between the two extremist positions of 'pure' voluntary and statutory organisations, with organisations finding a range of positions between them.

If we turn now to the four groups in question - where do they find themselves on such a continuum? The Sisters were a self-confessed voluntary body, entirely free of statutory responsibilities. They, in the particular branch house I studied, were completely reliant on non-statutory sources of funding, and administered their own work. They were quite specific in their rejection of statutory involvement, for they saw this as clearly imposing constraints on the manner in which they wished to work.

Although voluntary status had the disadvantage of precluding access to resources, and requiring at least one Sister to devote a considerable portion of her time to 'collecting' or begging, its consequent freedom was highly prized. They had no-one else dictating their priorities and their timetables, and they were free to introduce their own personal touch. Indeed the very act of collecting was seen to contain a strong social aspect.

For the Salvation Army, their position was slightly different. Again they were a self-confessed voluntary organisation, as is the case with most religiously-based organisations. However, there was a greater willingness to

collaborate with the State, and an almost unspoken recognition that they would do so. There was one clear caveat - such collaboration must leave them free "to work in Christ's name and offer His Salvation to all who needed it" (S.A. 1974, 115). The Salvation Army are probably thebiggest voluntary social service agency in the country, and traditionally working in areas of low appeal they are attractive partners for the statutory services. In one city, the Local Authority erected a building for housing the homeless and handed it over to the Salvation Army to run on its behalf. Their position on the continuum is necessarily closer to the statutory pole.

The Social Services Department is, however, a clear example of a statutory agency - although administered by the Local Authority rather than central government. It was established as the result of legislation, the Local Authority Social Services Act of 1970, and is funded from statutory sources. Its workers are Local Authority employees, accountable to their Director and the Authority's Social Services Committee. As a matter of policy though, the Department does utilise volunteers in their work. In the particular Authority in which I studied, a specific post had been created to organise such involvement - the Voluntary Help Organiser. Thus there is a blending of the voluntary within the statutory.

The fourth group, that of the Reception Centre, presented as almost the epitomy of statutory organisations. Set up by legislation, and governed and regulated by statute, this branch of a Central Government Department under the auspices of the Supplementary Benefit Commission is very decidedly at the statutory end of the spectrum. Civil servants administer the service, and it was admitted that volunteers are precluded by the rather excessive red tape in which the Centre is entangled.

Thus, the four groups are ranged along the voluntary-statutory continuum in a particular order.

(ii) Community-Bureaucracy

If we turn next to the organisational form of the four groups, we discover as was posited in Chapter 7 a continuum stretching from community to bureaucracy, through two intermediate points. A working definition for the concept of community has been borrowed from the work of D.B.Clark in

this area. This states that

> "The strength of community within any given group is determined by the degree to which its members experience both a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance within it"
> "It is how the members of the group themselves feel that is the basic concern."
> (Clark, 1973, 409).

Clark also provides an interesting summary of the classical type of organisational form - the bureaucracy

> "It is by definition hierarchical, with authority concentrated in the upper echelons and (almost) absolute at the peak of the pyramid, bringing problems ranging from autocracy at the top to a sense of helplessness and hopelessness at the bottom. One's status accords with one's role, defined in terms of the good 'organization man'. The professional and expert are always preferred to the non-professional and the layman. Relationships are structured according to the system and breaking protocol is a major offence. Encounter is contained and restricted by the 'primary task'.... of the enterprise."
> (Clark, 1977, 249f).

As I have argued earlier - bureaucracy is not necessarily a negative term, for among its more positive functions can be included role security, stability and permanence, impartiality of treatment for members and outsiders (in this case clients, for example) and rational deployment of individual skills (Warham 1977).

A continuum should not be interpreted in terms of one end necessarily being better than the other, but rather in terms of differing characteristics. Obviously, we can begin to make links between a particular organisational form and a specific kind of service to clients, but it is not our business to take this any further at this stage.

By name the Sisters were members of a community - a religious community. Measured against DavidClark's criteria they also demonstrated the strength of their 'community'. As I have described earlier, the Sisters experienced a sense ofsolidarity evident in no other group. The Community provided the base from which they went out and the source of support and encouragement, as well as uniting them in a common identity and purpose. The complete unity and consistency of their life and work is a further demonstration of that solidarity. Their work was difficult to describe, according to one elderly Sister, for they just "lived it". They felt a sense of significance, and a changing emphasis in theology has resulted in a more positive attitude towards the value and worth of individual members in their own right. Clients

were drawn into this 'Community', and experienced its benefits. Although paradoxically their Community was part of one of the world's largest hierarchical organisations - namely the Roman Catholic Church - it was not experienced in this light. The very ideology meant that it was the immediate experience of community that counted, not the hierarchy. The importance of subjective experience will be re-iterated in more depth later on. The Sisters saw themselves as a community, and that was clearly their immediate organisational form.

Similarly, at the other end of the spectrum, the Reception Centre provided a clear model of bureaucracy. I was repeatedly reminded of the fact that they were governed by legislation, that senior staff were Civil Servants, that there was a definite chain of authority rising up through the well-established hierarchy, with a clear cut division of labour. There was the expectation that employees would maintain an impersonal orientation towards clients, and so safeguard impartiality. All this is in accordance with the distinctive characteristics of bureaucracies proposed by Weber in his original study. There seemed one small exception which we saw in Ch.7 (p. 7.11).

> "Specialization, in turn, promotes expertness among the staff, both directly and by enabling the organisation to hire employees on the basis of their technical qualifications."
> (Clive Brooks - unpublished paper 8.3.78).

The Reception Centre drew its senior staff from 'volunteers' amongst Civil Service staff. Those in the lower positions appeared to be recruited on the basis of personality rather than any form of technical expertise. A DHSS circular (D120/76) talks of suitable staff in terms of patience, understanding and tolerance - hardly technical expertise! But again we must stress that the <u>experience</u> of working within that institution was that of a bureaucracy, with its attendant red-tape.

What of the other two groups, where can they be placed on such a continuum? They present more mixed positions. The Salvation Army as a sect should have provided its members with the experience of Community. However, I received the clear impression that any sense of community that was experienced was of a much more exclusive nature than the Sisters. Clients were not privy to the benefits of sect membership. The organisation was apparently dominated by the

hierarchical structure, and the social distance between ranks was maintained. Certainly their clearly identifiable uniform proclaimed their common membership, from which some sense of solidarity must have been derived. The Salvation Army Manager made no reference to community, other than in the wider neighbourhood-locality sense.

For the Social Service employees too, what they referred to most was not any sense of community but their own experience of hierarchical control and bureaucratic management. Although prominent authors, in the Brunel Study of Social Services Departments, warn against equating bureaucracy and hierarchy, this was how the workers I studied saw it. Any sense of solidarity was derived from sources other than the organisation - particular colleagues, their union (NALGO) - that is from informal networks of colleague relationships rather than stemming from their membership of the Department. These particular employees felt that they were removed from those making decisions about them (the example of the Neighbourhood Aids is a particularly poignant one) and were at the bottom of the pyramid. Despite their attempts to dissociate themselves from 'officialdom', this could not be done, and they were left feeling somewhat powerless within the Department. To me all these factors seem to place them closer to the bureaucratic model of the Reception Centre. Once again the same order is established.

It is quite noticeable that the issue of hierarchy appears prominently in connection with this particular continuum. However, there is no continuum around the simple notion of hierarchy, for I found that I was dealing with different forms of hierarchy. I intend to refer to the relationship of hierarchy and organisation in a subsequent sub-section (p.8.16-17).

(c) Testing and Hypothesis

Most social science research contains aspects of hypothesis testing and mine is no exception. Although I have firmly stressed that my methodology was not organised around the testing of hypotheses, yet inevitably certain hypotheses were implied if not explicitly formulated as such. One such major hypothesis was the expectation that there was an intrinsic difference between religious and non-religious or secular. Within the methodology, the selection of the groups was partially structured by this expectation - thus the choice of two religious and two secular organisations.

During the process of the research it emerged that these are just labels, but initially I accepted them as reality - there was something that could be identified as 'religious' and as 'non-religious'.

However, one major conclusion that can be drawn from the research is that, somewhat unexpectedly, religion is not the obvious differentiator between the groups in terms of the service they provide to clients. (One continuum I didn't select was that of the label of religion.) Instead I found that the most significant differentiator was the organisational context, for example the fact that the Sisters were a community. It is not the appearance - the outward label - that is so important, but the actual structure or essence. The whole of Chapter 7 deals with the significance of organisation, both for clients and workers.

Community provided one set of workers with a shared identity and sense of belonging, a strong support system and a good practical base from which to operate. Yet, in saying this, it is also apparent that it was not just in terms of an organisational context that it was important but also in terms of an ideology.

I am therefore suggesting that ideological and structurally related issues are important criteria, not simply a clear distinction between one agency being religiously based and the other secularly oriented. 'Religion' is not one unitary ideology, but embraces a whole range of differing ideologies as Chapters 3 and 4 attempted to indicate. The label 'religious' therefore necessarily becomes less significant, and it is the nature of the organisation and the nature of the ideology that are important.

The perception of work clearly differentiated the groups and reflected not only the nature of their respective organisations but also the ideology. Work could be seen as a vocation or it could be seen in purely economic terms of a means of earning one's livelihood. Clients could be seen as friends or as a category for whom legislation laid down that they be cared for. The implications for such differing perceptions of work are explored at length in Chapter 5.

Thus, in terms of conclusions the very hypothesis that structured the methodology in terms of group selection, has been proved to be of less import than the nature of the organisation and the ideology.

But related to this is the supremacy of subjective feelings in this area. What proved to be of crucial significance was the way in which the worker perceived his work, and also the way in which the client perceived the service or agency. Objective labels of religious or secular, statutory or voluntary did not appear to provide the deciding factor necessarily as to which service or agency one would appeal for help. This decision was very much influenced by prior expectations of the agency/service derived from either one's own previous experience or the reported experience of others.

People did not and do not operate on purely objective criteria such as labels, (either as workers or clients). Instead they construct their own understandings, make sense of their own world, and <u>then</u> act on it.

So as Dorothy Howell-Thomas suggests

> "Any institution is an objective reality, as such it is perceived in a variety of ways by those who observe it from outside. But to be seen at all, the object of perception has to be made small enough for the eye to behold and local enough for the mind to encompass. It is the local 'church' that has reality for most people."
> (Howell-Thomas, 1974, 62)

From a methodological point of view, unless people did operate on the basis of their own understanding of the world, there would be little point in doing research - for people would be acting as automatons! The methodology which I adopted was about listening to people, about trying to understand how they made sense of their experience, and how they then acted. The subjective constructions that they made were not isomorphic with the objective labels attributed by the rest of society. That is to say, that just because one organisation has a 'religious' label that was not the sole factor governing people's response to that agency or service. It may well have provided one slice of information on which to make their own construction but it was not always the governing one.

For the workers, as well as clients, the process was similar. In the case of workers, it was related to how they perceived their work, which in turn related to the very ideology behind their work and life, and indeed to the very way in which the workers themselves related to that ideology. To take an example from theSisters - given that a Vow of Obedience was accepted as intrinsically part of their way

of life, this legitimised the giving of orders by superiors, and in this way ideology and hierarchy were closely bound up together. Disobedience was not just a matter of the danger of being found out but was intrinsically sinful, i.e., the Sisters felt guilty of wrongdoing whether discovered or not.

I am thus making some very crucial points here. The objective label of 'religious' does not help us identify why people turn to different agencies for help, nor does it explain why these agencies provide different styles of service. For solutions to these questions we need to focus far more on the subjective interpretation of the people involved, both workers and clients. How do they make sense of their world and then act on it?

(d) <u>Discovered Variables</u>

At the beginning of this chapter I highlighted two of the difficulties which were presented in any attempt to write 'conclusions' to this research. As a result there are a large number of points of varying levels of specificity to which I wish to make reference, and the most appropriate technique to adopt seems to be that of a 'multi-variable approach'. They are 'bits of reality' which I discovered, and obviously there is an element of subjective choice in selecting what is actually documented here. Those chosen, however, are those points which impressed themselves on me. It is impossible and would be false to attempt to link them up, which may lead to a sense of disjointedness, but there can be no doubt that they actually occurred. I am in effect pin-pointing or highlighting significant points which have emerged from the data, which incidentally make quite interesting reading too: The worker's relationship to society: What I was beginning to identify was the significance of the individual worker vis a vis the wider structure of society. As Corrigan (1979) has suggested it is important to put what you are studying in the whole context of the culture in which it took place. This involved issues related to social value, respect, status and security. From a position of respect, which required little or no status re-inforcement, and of emotional and physical security, the Sisters were much freer to offer a total service to those who sought their help. In other ways however they provided somewhat of an anomaly. Social value is normally measured in terms of production and reproduction, but here were a group of women who were neither producing or

reproducing yet were given social status and respect. They seemed to be adjudged by a different value system - perhaps by virtue of the super-natural element which was involved. Even though many people would hold the Sister's beliefs to be irrational and untenable, yet these were recognised as providing a consistent explanation for the actions of those who believed. Energy was devoted to the client, rather than partially diverted onto anxieties about the worker's own position and status.

Work Anxiety: Anxiety about work was experienced very differently by the four groups. This can be partially explained by the various groups' positions in regard to status, security etc., as we saw above. Almost certainly an element of this was lost by the changed methodology in respect of the Salvation Army and the Reception Centre, but this is by no means the only reason for the differences. The Social Service's group experienced by far the greatest amount of anxiety about work. This was evidenced in detail in Chapter 5. For the other three groups anxiety in this regard was far less.

Social Recognition of Work: For work to become socially recognised normally requires that the worker is paid for it - but this did not hold true for the Sisters. They often commented that their clients appreciated the fact that they did the work for nothing - and this was not meant in terms of the client being freed of any charge, for even statutory clients do not pay for the service directly.

Clients and Time: The other factor that was most recognised and mentioned as being significant to their clients by the Sisters, was that of time. Clients valued the time that Sisters could spend with them - potentially greater than that of statutory based workers. However, I suspect that clients valued the sense that they experienced of total attentiveness which the Sisters gave. In reality they may not actually have spent more time with clients but for the most part they conveyed the impression that they were completely responding to the client, and were not rushing off to someone else.

Social Distance between Client and Worker: In relation to the social distance between clients and workers, it is interesting to note that the four groups adopted rather different stances. The Social Service's personnel were continually trying to reduce the social distance between

themselves and their clients, a consideration that worried them enormously. They also, within the District Team, were continually trying to reduce the social distance amongst different levels of workers by socialising together. The Sisters, post Vatican II, made every attempt to reduce internal hierarchical distance, but really had no need to alter their approach to clients. Both the Salvation Army and the Reception Centre clearly worked to maintain the social distance towards clients and between workers. Within the Salvation Army setting there was some token attempt made by giving clients Christmas presents, but this I felt was minimal and had no lasting effect on relationships.

Habit formation: I was struck within theSalvation Army Hostel by the stress that was placed by the Manager on Habit formation- the men were to be encouraged to play games on one night only and facilities were deliberately not made available every night. This was seen to encourage good habits. I was struck by the phrase "Habit is the Flywheel of Society" that seemed the adopted motto here. Similarly the Reception Centre Manager spoke of "brainwashing" and of bringing people back into the norms of society. Perhaps this is indicative of the particular client group - the single homeless- with which they were dealing, that there was so much emphasis on returning the men to normative behaviour and instilling good habits whilst deterring bad ones - notably drinking and leading an unsettled way of life. The Rehabilitation work located at the Reception Centre was focussed on men re-learning the habit of work.

Organisation and Ideology: I have already referred to the link between organisation and ideology - the individual case records of clients in Social Services Departments and the way that the Sisters very view of hierarchy was altered by their ideology. For the Sisters ideology was not imposed, as in the Social Services, but was the very foundation of their way of life. Within the Social Services Department, very often low status workers were allocated apparently low status work with the elderly. For the Sisters such thinking would not only have been totally alien but would not even arise.

The Relationship of Workess to Hierarchies: It is significant also that I did not need to know about the full hierarchical tree of the groups, and I found out this information afterwards rather than during the actual research.

This is because the workers related to their respective hierarchies in a very immediate way - not in any kind of structural way. If pressed some of them could have provided a full hierarchical tree, but although this macro-structure could and did have considerable implications for their day to day work, it was not seen in that light, or ever referred to.

Frameworks of Reference: When discussing the continuum of community-bureaucracy earlier I made reference to the relationship of hierarchy and organisation that clearly existed within the groups, but in widely varying forms. I have also just referred to the way in which workers related very differently to their own hierarchies. It seems to me, for example, that the peculiar paradox of community and hierarchy co-existing is perhaps explained by the presence of a frame of reference that over-rides such apparent structural inconsistencies. Each group had a different frame of reference. I have already alluded (in Ch.2) to the divine source of imperative of the Sisters' ideology. The same is also true of the Salvation Army. Their frame of reference is one of religious witness. This is totally absent in the other two organisations, except at an individual level, not often apparent in this predominantly secular society. One obviously has to be careful not to imply complete atheism, but any religious imperative is rarely defined in traditional religious terms within the secular groups. There is one obvious difficulty with this theory - why does it not also hold true of the Salvation Army, given their obviously similar frame of reference? I have argued that in some way their frame of reference, whilst similar, is in fact different, i.e., it is insufficient to broadly categorise them in the <u>one</u> religious frame of reference.

Collectivity and Individualism: Associated with the organisational forms of community and bureaucracy is another dimension of the way in which services are provided - that of the specific orientation of workers and agency in terms of collectivity. By this I mean, did workers operate as individuals, albeit under the auspices of their agency, or did they function as a collective. For the Sisters membership of the Community far outweighed their individuality - not that their individual sense of worth or significance was lost, but that they went out as members of a community not as Sr So-and-So. Thus they provided their services in the name of the Community, and were clearly recognisable as such by their

habit. Who went was not regarded as important. Their orientation was clearly that of a collective, in which tasks were shared.

In theory one would have expected the Salvation Army to operate along similar lines, but this did not appear to be so. Although both man and wife were officers, it was only the men of the partnerships who were directly involved in the running of the hostel. Individual officers seemed more noticeable than in the case of the Sisters, and there was not so much evidence of a shared work philosophy. Obviously as Salvation Army Officers they were identified at certain levels as part of a wider collectivity, and in relation to clients in particular one officer should have been able to provide the same service as another. Personality difficulties seemed to diminish this though and clients clearly distinguished between individual officers.

The Social Service employees presented an even more individualistic stance - each worker carried their own case-load, or were allocated specific cases to deal with,,and were then expected to deal with them individually. Special arrangements were obviously made to cover for people who were away sick or on leave, but the necessity of such arrange-ments only goes to prove the individualistically oriented expectations. A client was allocated to a particular worker and the expectation was that they would then always relate to that particular individual. Case records were maintained in an individualistic manner and there was no concept of group recording for a whole area of clients, for example some particular housing action project.

At the Reception Centre there was evidence of what I have termed 'functional individuality'. Workers operated as individuals with a specific job, for which they were responsible. However, as there were at the lower grades several people on the same grade, individuals did replace similarly graded workers on different shifts. Within the Civil Service structure collective approaches and sharing are not the norm.

Interchangeability and Communication: Intrinsically bound up with the last point is the question of worker flexibility and interchange. The Sisters were completely interchangeable. This was in keeping with their flexibility and availability as a collective. This interchangeability, with one sister

taking over certain work from another whenever this was necessary, extended across authority boundaries including the local Superior. With the adoption of this style of work there is a maximum utilisation of resources, talents &c., to the potential benefit of clients, as well as a reduction of pressure because the onus is not on the individual. Adequate communication is obviously essential for this approach to operate smoothly.

The degree of interchangeability within the Salvation Army was less, and as with the Social Services collaboration was perhaps a more appropriate description. Yet the Salvation Army did perhaps appear a little closer to the Sister's model. The Reception Centre operated almost entirely at a level of 'communication', rooted in their bureaucratic structure, with no interchangeability even contemplated between the various levels.

Externals: The position within society was in many ways highlighted by such externals as dress and certain forms of behaviour. What people wear does appear to be significant. Although the two religious groups shared this common base of clearly identified uniforms or habits, there remained a difference between them. It appears that Religious have gained all over the world universal recognition and respect, even if their beliefs are refuted. The uniform of the Salvationist has however for some gained pejorative or derogatory connotations, and unfortunately can become the butt of scorn and ridicule as well as respect.

Differences rather than similarities?: Throughout the research I have found myself stressing the differences between the groups rather than the similarities. Why should this be, given that comparative material usually gives rise to both differences and similarities? This question returns us to the earlier discussion on the supremacy of subjective feelings as against objective labels. People construct their own understanding of the world and act upon this, inevitably it follows that there will be many differences, for people are not made in the same mould. They will experience things differently and will interpret those experiences differently. There is a partial explanation too in the fact that the groups were selected to reflect certain similarities - they all dealt with some form of social work provision, each pair operated in the same geographical vicinity and dealt with a similar category of need. It was therefore differences that

arose in the context of a similar base that required comment and attention. It was at the level of ideas that differences apparently occurred, and in some measure the groups were also chosen to reflect certain ideological differences - Catholic v. Evangelical theology, religious v. secular orientations. However, these labels must be treated with care as we have clearly seen. Objective labels are only one criteria on which people base their subjective interpretation of the world, and on which they subsequently base their actions. Did the very selection lead to an inherent bias or emphasis being placed on differences rather than similarities?

To some extent this anxiety is allayed by the discovery that the relationship of the 'church' and social work appears to be based on factors of choice, which inevitably implies differences rather than similarities of provision. The Wolfenden Report (1978) stated that they saw a very significant role for voluntary organisations, and specifically religious bodies, in providing an alteraative to state provision which could take into account ethnic and religious factors not possible within the state system.

The actual issue of statutory-voluntary relationships did not come to the fore in this research as much as may have been anticipated. Perhaps the most significant point being the positive and conscious choice of the particular group of Sisters which I studied not to operate within a statutory framework.

(e) '<u>Reflective Grand Theory</u>'

(i) <u>Community</u>

When all this has been said - we still need to step back and look at what has been discovered. Such reflection leads me to state quite clearly that one thing above everything else emerges from this piece of research - that is the centrality of the concept of 'community'. In many ways I can dismiss many of the other points as being interesting but marginal to the main focus-that of the importance of community for one particular group of workers and the implications this had for their clients.

Much has been written about community - criticisms of the concept, analysis of what it is, discussion about how to develop it. My focus is necessarily rooted in the subjective experience of the workers and their clients,

gleaned from my own observation, discussion and reading.

Community provides a unique base for social work. Recognition has already been given in many circles to the use of community as a therapeutic setting for helping clients. I am interested in what community has done for one particular group of <u>workers</u>, which in turn has had an effect on their form of service. For the Sisters, Community is a way of life, a vocation, the organisational structure of which they are a part, an inherent part of their ideology.

There are inevitably both strengths and weaknesses of the community form of Religious Life, but the strengths far outweigh the weaknesses in terms of the service they can then provide for their clients. Community provides these workers with a shared work experience, an integrated pattern of life and work, motivation in the form of a vocation and a resultant clear perception of why they are doing what they are doing, a mutual support system, an added spiritual dimension related to praying for and with clients, added availability and an over-riding ideology that stresses the dignity of mankind. Obviously other groups display some of these characteristics but the form of community I observed seemed to draw them all together. Disadvantages arise through workers being strictly limited to those who feel called to that particular way of life - in numerical terms not a popular choice. The closeness of fellow members can give rise to friction rather than love. Despite this the positive side shone through. It was not an easy option though.

It is the singlemindedness of the Sisters that is so apparent - or in other terminology their sense of commitment. They are committed to God, to the Community's work, to its ideology and values and to each other. This provides a bond between the individual and the group, as Kanter (1972) also found in her work with utopian communities. No longer is there a tension between self-interest and social requirements in other words what the pesson wants to do is the same as what she has to do. Traditional religious orders do much to promote this sense of commitment. An important facet of any community's commitment is their shared work, as I hope Chapter Five makes clear, and it enables a whole new perception of work to emerge. This as we have seen has implications for the service that clients then receive.

Whilst putting before readers the example of the Sisters

as a community, it is important to recognise that the conclusion that also follows from Chapter Seven is that the Church (in whatever form it may be) has an obligation to bring people to an experience of community too. The church has a role in helping people to develop that 'power-to-be' that is the right of every person, but which is so often limited by structural and organisational constraints.

(ii) <u>The Context of Social Work</u>

What is all important then is the context of social work- both for the carers and for those who are offered help. <u>How</u> that help is offered, and within what kind of relationship, is highly significant. These are factors which have often been minimised or totally disregarded.

It is these points which distinguish one group from the other three. The Sisters, within the context of their community, offer help to their clients as friends and non-officials. In turn they are accepted as part of the family of those they help. Help is offered on terms which are decided by the client as well as the workers.

History, ideology and structure all play a part in contributing to the particular social work service that is offered by this group of Sisters. Community sums up this unique relationship.

But what does this say for the future?

II. <u>Implications for Future Research and Practice</u>

> "One test of good theory is that it has practical implications; I hope there will be such benefits here".
>
> (Perrow,1970, p.vii)

The focus of this research has been upon the practice area of social work and like Whyte (1969) I have been concerned "to build up a sociology based upon observed interpersonal events". Of necessity I would not wish to end without some reflection upon the implications of my work for future practice. Secondly, and of equal significance, the nature of the methodology which I adopted, as demonstrated in the empirical work and in the very writing-up process, has considerable implications for future research.It is then with these two major areas that I am now concerned. If I can again begin with the <u>form</u> rather than the content.

(a) Implications for Future Research

(i) How would I do the research Now?

It is both an interesting and testing question to ask at the end of any particular piece of empirical work. Would I have done anything differently if I was starting this work again now? With the benefit of experience and hindsight there are certainly things that I would alter, and it is worth examining these in some detail for the implications that they have for the work of others.

Although my aim was and would still be comparison, I would select fewer discrete comparative groups. Much of the reasoning behind the inclusion of the Salvation Army and the Government Reception Centre was that they would act as a check against some inherent bias in the particular groups that I had first chosen - namely the Sisters and the Social Services. This bias I most feared in relation to the different theological perspectives of Catholic and Evangelical groups. This internal theological difference in the end turned out to be far less significant, and it was factors of organisation and structural ideology which mattered most. In retrospect, I would have profited more from studying more examples of those two major groups in depth, rather than the four I selected.

There is another major reason why I would not now chose to study the Salvation Army and the Reception Centre. These two institutions were not amenable to the kind of 'in depth' approach to which I was wedded. I am convinced that for the particular material which I wished to collect, that the researcher needs to establish an intensive personal relationship with those who are to be the subjects of the study. This necessitates protracted contact with the groups, and the ability to be accepted by that group. I have already referred at some length to the biographical details of my own life which indicate my background, ideological stance and professional credentials. It was these which enabled me to 'enter' the Sisters and the Social Services Group so successfully. But some groups cannot be researched in this way - as I was to discover when I turned to the Salvation Army and the Reception Centre.

As institutions they were not amenable to a researcher developing close relationships with staff - the emphasis was thrust far more on observation rather than participation. As

a woman in a rather male preserve, there was additional reticence, although this was not my experience in other voluntary bodies working in the same field.I was not able to 'enter' the second two groups in the same way, and I would probably have been better concentrating on those which I could.

This is not an explanation of personal inadequacy, but makes the much deeper point that all groups within society are not amenable to being researched in one way. Researchers should take cognizance of this fact when planning their field work.

Whereas I did explore, in far less detail, the other two branch houses of the particular Religious Community I was studying, I would consciously expand this now.

I must stress too that researchers should build upon their own background and contacts if they are contemplating this kind of methodology and method.

(ii) Methodology and Results

Another significant point that arises from my research is the relationship of methodology and results, or to put it another way, that the researcher should reflect on the kind of results he requires and adopt an appropriate methodology.

The methodology which I developed permitted me to get inside the institutions in order to understand them, via the subjective experience of the workers. The emphasis was on qualitative data in depth. However this type of qualitative data is not that amenable to neat comparative conclusions, as would much quantitative data be. The researcher has therefore to weigh up his expectations and requirements and match these against the advantages and disadvantages of particular methodologies. If one is primarily interested in comparisons and conclusions then this form of data collection may be secondary.

As was seen earlier in the chapter, my difficulties arose in constructing theory from the qualitative data which I had collected. I needed to adopt such a methodology to tap such 'rich' data, but this richness in itself presented problems of theory construction, with which I then had to struggle.

(iii) Freedom of Generating Grounded Theory

Although the process of generating theory from ones own data is a far more arduous one, in many ways, than the manipulation of numbers or the limitations of a rigid

positivist approach, it does permit a more open and potentially fulfilling approach to research. One can be freed of the constraints imposed by previous theory and literature to truly re-examine society afresh, or at least some minor portion of it. Within this freedom, previous work can be built on if appropriate and used positively, rather than constraining and limiting as can often happen.

However, such a process, as I have tried to demonstrate, has its own repercussions for the actual writing up of the process. One is forced to develop new ways of dealing with the material as conventional forms are inappropriate and insufficient. New horizons are opened up and new potentials explored, but this is inevitably a rather lonely path. It is both demanding and exciting, and a way which I would strongly urge other researchers to adopt.

(b) <u>Implications for Future Practice</u>

(i) <u>Structure, Ideology and Community</u>

Much of the thesis has concentrated on the idea that structure and ideology are closely related. This close relationship is represented for those I studied in the word 'community'. Community was an organisational form or structure, it was also an ideology. Clearly I have identified community as a very positive asset for social work practice, yet what about all those other organisations for which such an experience of 'community' is lacking.

If 'community' is to do with structure as well as ideology, then for many agencies particularly the statutory ones, replication of the kind of community described within this thesis is clearly impossible. Perhaps what we need to ask is how can people reproduce the positive effects of such a community, whilst retaining other organisational forms? I would posit that for those within Social Services Departments that their experience of community is being sought through the growing unionisation which is occurring. Within the trade union movement they are seeking some sense of solidarity, otherwise not experienced, and in some ways a greater sense of significance. It is unfortunate that the connotations of trade unions are too often rooted in purely economic bargaining, whilst in their wider sense they can be a tool for ensuring better services for clients and provision of a much lacked support system for individual workers.

There is a primary need for social workers to become more organization conscious (Warham 1977), with which I would agree. In a different way, the Church, too, is becoming more organisation conscious and is seeing an increasing need to return to being an accepting and creative community

(ii) The Environment of the Carers

Related to the issue of 'community' it becomes obvious that the working environment of those who are caring for others is vitally important. Too often in the past, the emphasis has been on the client's environment to the detriment of the workers. What is needed is a recognition of its importance for both client and worker.

In an age of increasing stress within society, it is crucial that those who are given or who take on the role of carers should be provided with both physically and emotionally supportive environments in which to operate. The therapeutic benefits of community have long been recognised for some clients. If the structure within which clients are placed is considered to be critical, what of the workers? Isn't it time that we began to pay more attention to this and not just in terms of organisation and methods, improved efficiency and streamlined organisation.

The environment of the worker affects his very perception of work and this subjective experience of work, in turn, affects the service that can be provided to clients.

(iii) Perception of Work

It is important too that we take account of how people perceive their work, and not just rely on assumptions and sterotypes. Volunteers and for that matter the non-qualified staff within Social Services Departments may initially have been motivated by such negative factors as boredom, and unemployment. Assumptions are made that they will be far more "positively" motivated by an altruistic desire to help. I am not here making a value judgment of the rightness or wrongness of this situation, but I am making the point that assumptions are often ill-founded in reality, and to act on these assumptions can lead to difficulties.

I concentrated on one aspect of motivation and perception of work that of vocation. Perhaps we need both to recognise the importance and significance of this, and to disabuse ourselves of the myth that all social workers are inspired by an albeit secular interpretation of the old concept of vocation. This was certainly not evident at the

non-qualified level.

(iv) The Elderly

The elderly came to the fore as a category most seen as in need, and both religious and secular workers saw this as a shameful gap in provision. As a group they probably have least provision, and for that matter least legislation, and yet appear to be in most need. What should be done about this? It requires I feel a complete re-education of our society as to the value of the elderly, in contradiction to the current emphasis on productive and reproductive capacity. In fact society needs to be taught the much healthier 'religious' philosophy that each person is of worth, regardless of their contribution to society.

(v) Time for Clients

One further implication for future practice that is particularly striking is the issue of time. It is not the actual time spent with clients but much more their perception of the fact that they matter, and that their concerns are worth listening to. As I have stressed in other contexts, it is the subjective experience of the clients rather than the objective reality that is significant. Clients particularly appreciate the worker who devotes his whole attention to them during contact and does not give the impression that they are just being troublesome, or are insignificant. This has of course been well-documented by others - for example

> "The great asset of the volunteer is not just time, as Aves suggests, but his ability to become involved in the life of the client (which admittedly needs time - but it isn't time which is the vital factor)."
> (Davies, 1977, 68)

Unfortunately, these kind of comments whether applied to volunteers or full-time workers continue to go unheeded.

This seems to me to be an area of social work practice, well documented in theory as being of the essence of good practice, but somewhat lacking in reality. It is very easy for harrassed workers to convey to individual clients that they are just one of many and that the worker is rushing from one task to another. It does not, however, take that much to learn to convey a very different message to people - that they matter, that while the worker is with them he will give his undivided attention to really listening to what the client has to say. Perhaps toolittle attention has been focussed in the past on research into client perception of the

services and the subsequent improvements that could be based on this.

(c) Areas of Future Research - What Next?

The final question is inevitably that of where to next. I have already indicated earlier in this chapter that I would like to see more work done on further examples of the first two groups - i.e., the Sisters and the Social Services employees. It would also be interesting to look at more examples of Religious Communities to develop the ideas about community and social work which have begun to be outlined here. By Religious Communities I do not just mean communities of monks and nuns, but any community inspired by religious principles, motives and beliefs. One particularly striking example that comes to mind is that of the L'Arche communities. Founded by a French-Canadian, Jean Vanier, they aim to look after mentally handicapped in small communities of handicapped and non-handicapped members. This has been vividly described by a Jesuit, Bill Clarke, in 'Enough Room for Joy' (1974).

I would also welcome the exploration of secular communal organisations which would seek to illuminate the very difficult and complex area of distinctions between religious and secular groups.

I have focussed entirely on Christianity as the motivating religious force behind social work but other major world religions provide a similar force. The example of Sikhism is of particular interest in this context, given the extremely strong emphasis which they place on community. This I think would prove a most enlightening area of research.

To return to the specifically Christian context, another area which was partially unveiled during the early background research which I undertook was that of community developments and the churches. This could well be an area of fruitful enquiry into the modern overlap between church and state.

Related to the area of community development is of course the growing problem of inner city areas. This is an area in which the church could offer a great deal. It would be valuable to explore just how this particular aspect of church and social work could combine together. It should not be forgotten either that our inner city areas are increasingly becoming multi-faith areas, and thus the contribution of other world religions to social work is of growing importance to our own society.

(d) The Necessity of Accessibility

In all these areas I would strongly urge that a similar methodology to that outlined here is adopted. These areas concern practitioners as well as academics, the interested 'layman' wants and needs to share in this debate. The research must then be made available to everyone - both in terms of its very methodology and approach to the substantive area, and in the way in which it is presented to its readers. Both have been central issues for my own thesis, and I have attempted to deal with the problems that such aims and ideals produce. May I end by re-iterating three important points in this regard.

Firstly, there is and must be an intrinsic link made between the form, method and content in such research - otherwise much that is of value will be lost. The form of presentation considerably affects comprehension, and cannot be regarded as an optional luxuty. How material is discovered, what data is found and in what way it is then written about each affect the other, and the researcher forgets this at his own peril.

Secondly, in the approach to the substantive area it is important to remember that it is not in keeping with reality to separate the various disciplines in the way that has been conventionally adopted. As I emphasised in Chapter Two it is not just of value but is a necessity to adopt a more fluid, multi-disciplinary approach.This, as we have seen, is not without its problems, but these are not insurmountable.

Finally, the nature of such research is for it to be idiosyncratic, but it must be stressed that this does not invalidate the research. It does, however, make it necessary to see research as part of an 'opening-up' process whereby explanations about the world are developed and amended. The process is one of movement, and it is a continually developing process which makes sense in this constantly changing world of ours.

APPENDIX 1a

Interview Schedule for the Sisters.

I would like to begin with some factual details.

1a How many years have you been with this community?

b Do you hold any professional qualifications, for example in nursing or social work?

c Could you please tell me of any positions of responsibility held in the community?

d Could you please tell me how old you are?

If we could come now to a group of questions concerning the Community.

2a How would you describe the work of the community (as to a complete stranger)?

b Could you please list the specific work/jobs that you perform within the community at this time?

c What major changes have there been in the community during your life within it?

And if possible could you state the reason for such changes, e.g., the theological developments of Vatican II.

d How have these changes effected your style of work?

e Would you please state any new developments in social work practice of which you are aware?

f How have these affected your style of work?

g Can you state what proportion of your time is devoted to social work? e.g., social visiting as opposed to general nursing care.

I would like us now to discuss your attitudes to your work and the attitudes of those whom you help.

3a How would you describe the word vocation?

b Is vocation an essential element in social work and/or nursing?

c Why do people seek help from your community rather than other agencies?

d Some people believe that the client/patient behaves differently towards you as a member of a religious community than they would to a member of the statutory services? What is your view?

d Do clients ever comment on the difference? If so, how?

e Do you believe that the Sisters can offer some distinctive service not provided by secular agencies?

f Should voluntary religious groups, such as yours, receive any funding from local or central government sources? (e.g., to cover the cost of medical supplies).

Finally, a question of a more general nature.

4a Should the Catholic Church become more involved in the field of social work? If so, in any particular area?

APPENDIX 1b.

Secular Interview Schedule.

I would like to begin with some factual details.

1a How long have you been with the Department?

b How long have you been in social work (if different from above)?

c Do you hold any professional qualifications?

d What position or post do you hold at the moment?

e How old are you?

f Could you please briefly describe your past experience - social work or otherwise?

g Would you describe yourself as religious?

If we could come now to some questions concerning the Department

2a How would you describe your work (as if to a complete stranger)?

b Please list the specific tasks you perform in the Department as at this time?

c Have there been any major changes in the Department during your time here? (e.g., an intake team set up). Why did the change happen?

d Have any of these changes altered the style or type of work you do?

e Are there any new developments in social work practice of which you are aware? If so, what are they?

f Have they affected your work at all, for example the way in which you work?

g Do you think that there are gaps in the provision made by your Department? If so, where?

3a Why do people seek help from Social Services rather than other agencies?

b Some people would expect clients to behave differently towards you as a member of the Statutory Services than they would if you represented some voluntary agency. Do you agree with this?

c Do clients ever comment on the difference? If so, how?

d Why do you think that people do voluntary social work? (Prompt)

e Could you describe the meaning of vocation? With what do you associate the word?

f Would you say that you had a vocation?

g Why do you do social work?

4a Would you see a need for more voluntary agencies in the field of social work? If so, in any particular area?

b In your view, does the Church (no specific denomination) have a role to perform? If so, please elaborate.

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